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Near East/South Asia Report

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POSSIBLE REDUCTION OF U.S. ECONOMIC AID DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 20 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Majdi Muhanna: "U.S. Warning to Egypt: U.S. Sky Will Rain Neither Gold Nor Silver; AL-WAFD Reveals Secrets of Economic Talks Between Egypt and United States; Americans: We Will Be Compelled To Reduce Aid by $35 Million"]

[Text] The Egyptian economy is passing a dangerous turning point. At the same time, the U.S. aid for Egypt is passing through the same turning point. At a time when Egypt's foreign currency resources have dropped by one-half, at the best estimate, and when the Egyptian government is requesting that the aid be doubled, we are surprised to find that these hopes are nothing but a mirage and that the U.S. administration is on its way to reduce the aid this year by $35 million because the United States is suffering from a deficit of $(200) billion in its budget and because the reduction in its foreign aid to the developing countries will exclude nobody.

AL-WAFD has been able to acquire the documents of the secret talks held in Washington between the Egyptian delegation and the U.S. side from 26 January to 7 February 1986.

The American side presented nine questions at the negotiation table, and the Egyptian delegation answered in the "white paper" which it presented to the American side and which revealed the dimensions of the difficulties and dangers facing the Egyptian economy. The value of the Egyptian oil exports will drop by 30 percent at least, the tourism revenues will drop by 55 percent, the Suez Canal revenues by 50 percent, and the remittances of Egyptians working abroad by 75 percent.

The purpose behind revealing the secrets of these talks is not to embarrass the Egyptian government or, at least, to watch it and bemoan while waiting for the Egyptian economy to emerge recovered and healthy from the U.S. hospital's recovery room. Any catastrophe afflicting, God forbid, the Egyptian economy will hurt all of us, and any prosperity that comes will engulf all of us.

The objective of publishing these secrets is, first, the Egyptian citizen's right to know the full facts concerning his economy which suffers from chronic

and severe ailments and, second, his right to be convinced of any decisions or policies adopted by the state to correct the economic course so that he may be more capable of enduring and of tightening the belt.

Introduction

An Egyptian economic delegation comprised of Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam Zaki, the head of the U.S. Cooperation Section of the Ministry of Planning, and Dr Hana' Khayr-al-Din, a professor at Cairo University (and wife of Minister of Economy Dr Sultan Abu 'Ali), visited Washington and held talks lasting from 26 January to 7 February 1986.

The objective of the visit was to take part in answering the U.S. side's questions on the contents of the "white paper" submitted by the Egyptian government officially on Egypt's requests for U.S. aid.

Nine Meetings

The Egyptian delegation took part in nine meetings, the first of which was a preparatory meeting with 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Raydi, the Egyptian ambassador in Washington, on 27 January 1986 to discuss the delegation's task in Washington and to agree on the broad lines of this task. The meeting was attended by 'Abd-al-Halim Muhammad, the commercial minister plenipotentiary at the Egyptian Embassy in Washington, and Dr Muhammad al-Mintawi, the commercial adviser at the embassy.

The second meeting was held on the following day, 28 January, with the U.S. Congressional Foreign Relations Subcommittee for Asian and Middle Eastern Affairs. This meeting discussed the outcome of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy's visit to the Middle East and the impact of the legislation issued by the Congress in December 1985, known as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill on reducing government spending by 4.3 percent this year and by other percentages until 1991, on the volume of U.S. aid for the area's countries, including Egypt.

The Egyptian delegation held its third meeting with Mr (Greenleaf), the assistant director of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The fourth meeting was held with aides of a number of U.S. senators on 31 January. On the same evening, the fifth meeting was held with David Dunford, the head of the Egyptian desk at the U.S. State Department, and with his assistant.

On 3 February, the sixth meeting was held with Mr Collins, Senator Inouye's aide. On the following day, the seventh meeting was held with Mr (McDonnell), the head of the AID purchases section. The eighth meeting was held on 5 February with Terry (Larik), the assistant chief of AID's Egypt section. The ninth and last meeting was held with Dennis (Neal), the head of the AID public relations office.

Egypt's Requests

At the nine meetings it held with the American side, the Egyptian delegation raised numerous issued connected with the U.S. economic aid for Egypt. These issues included:

Reducing the burden of loan and interest repayments payable to the United States.

Reconsidering the legislation issued in July 1985 and stipulating a reduction of at least 18 percent in the allocations for the commodity imports program for 1986 and 1987. This program is for the importation of U.S. agricultural products and is designed to help the U.S. agricultural sector dispose of its production. The importance of this issue lies in the fact that this legislation will do Egypt grave harm because Egypt gets nearly 75 percent of the total sums appropriate for this program, while 10 other African countries get the remaining 25 percent. This is in addition to the fact that Egypt imports a large volume of agricultural crops, either through AID or by way of the surplus agricultural production.

The Egyptian delegation also raised the issue of the circumstances being undergone by the Egyptian economy at present which require expediting disbursement of the "second installment" of the cash U.S. aid without tying this installment to accomplishments made in the economic reform programs Egypt is currently implementing, considering that the U.S. administration stipulates the condition of observing the implementation of these programs.

In its meetings with the U.S. administration officials, the Egyptian delegation raised the issue of the need to reconsider the proposals made by the U.S. AID branch in Cairo which call for allocating $50 million for the public sector, keeping in mind that the loans of the commodity importation programs are allocated fundamentally for the public and government sector.

The final request made by the Egyptian delegation to the American side was to have the United States send the Egyptian government the agreements concerning U.S. aid with enough time to allow the special committees to study the agreements prior to their final approval. The Egyptian delegation defined adequate time as 1 month, at least.

U.S. Position

The positions of the U.S. side were the same in AID, in the State Department, and in the Congress with no difference between them. These positions are summed up in the following points:

The U.S. administration understands Egypt's economic circumstances and welcomes the steps taken by the Egyptian government to correct the economic course. However, the United States is facing on its part a number of difficulties, the most significant being the serious budget deficit which has led to the promulgation of the Gramm-Rudman law. This deficit is expected to reach $200 billion in the 1987 budget. Therefore, it has been

decided to reduce the U.S. foreign aid generally by 6 percent in 1987. It has also been decided to reduce the aid set for Egypt for 1986 by $35 million.

The U.S. side told the Egyptian delegation that no exceptions can be made in this regard and no increase can be included in the aid for any country.

The U.S. administration is still awaiting a specific and complete program incorporating the specific objectives of the steps which the Egyptian government plans to take for the purpose of economic reform over a set number of years.

Nine Questions

The American side to the talks raised nine questions which the Egyptian delegation answered in its white paper:

First question: What are the priorities that Egypt establishes for the use of U.S. aid?

Second question: Why do the Egyptian officials insist on not adjusting the pound's exchange rate even though the difference between the multiple exchange rates on the one hand and the official exchange rate and the black market exchange rate on the other hand has been the main reason for the drop in the remittances of Egyptians working abroad?

Third question: Why is Egypt not returning its ambassador to Israel and why is the peace process not proceeding at the desired speed?

Fourth question: What is the average value of foreign cash reserves in Egypt and how does it compare to monthly imports?

Fifth question: What is the difference between the current budget deficit and what was expected during the 5-year plan?

Sixth question: What is the position of the World Bank in relation to the loans it had previously agreed to give to Egypt and what is its position regarding new loans in the framework of the economic recovery program which Egypt is currently undertaking?

Seventh question: Has Egypt applied the exchange rate while taking into account the customs duty on imports?

Eighth question: What is the value of confirmed losses because of a decrease in the prices of petroleum exports by $1 per barrel?

Ninth question: What are the possibilities for utilizing equipment and spare parts from military industrial production in liquidating a portion of some of the debts the United States is laying claim to?

The White Paper

The Egyptian "white paper" deals with the answer to the nine questions from the American side. The economic and political developments and their effects on the Egyptian economy in the period from July 1985 until the present are contained in it. Hana' Khayr-al-Din along with Ahmad 'Abdallah Zaki, who is head of the American cooperation section of the Ministry of Planning, prepared this paper.

The most important elements of this paper are:

--The value of Egyptian petroleum exports will fall 30 percent (at least) compared to what was anticipated in the estimates for 1987. This is due to a fall in world oil prices on the one hand and because of a drop in Egyptian petroleum production on the other.

--Egyptian income through tourism for 1986/87 was expected to be $800 million, but this will fall about 55 percent due to the incidents of the Italian ship and the Egyptian airliner (and the recent rioting). This has led to a drop from 70 to only 30 percent in hotel usage!

The remittances of Egyptian workers abroad have declined during the past 2 months at an average of only $50 million--this as compared to $200 million as a monthly average. It is expected that these remittances will drop during the current year from $4.1 billion to only $1 billion.

--The revenues from the Suez Canal during 1986/87 will also drop by half. It had been estimated at 885 million pounds. It will drop to 442 million pounds. This is due to the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war, on the one hand, and the drop in the averages in petroleum tanker traffic in the canal because of the drop in world oil prices, on the other hand.

--And finally: The "white paper" indicated that it is expected that the revenues from the principle resources for foreign currency (petroleum, tourism, Egyptian remittances, the Suez Canal) will drop during 1986/87 by half of what was anticipated.

The goal of the Egyptian delegation in presenting this paper is to support the requests for assistance which Egypt presented to America for 1986 and which amounted to $3.6 billion--this is other than the $22.5 million earmarked for importing agricultural products. These requests are an almost 50 percent over the value of American aid received last year. The first time the Egyptian government formally presented these requests was on 13 December 1985.

However, the American response to these requests came: No exception can be made...it is not possible to include any increase in aid to any country.

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FORMATION OF NATIONAL FRONT DISCUSSED

Parties in Crisis

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 25 Nov 85 pp 20-21

[Article by Rida Hilal: "The National Front, With Whom and Why?"]

[Text] The present attitude of the Egyptian parties--including the National Party--towards the front's issue reminds us of the hungry tomcat who jumped on an iron rasp and licked it. When traces of blood of the tomcat's tongue appeared on the rasp he thought it was the rasp's blood and continued to lick it.

The rasp that continues to bloody the political parties' tongues is the crisis that the nation is experiencing regardless of the diagnosis of this crisis because the opposition parties accuse each other and accuse the National Party of preventing a solution to this crisis while the National Party accuses all or some of the opposition parties of opposing the solution for the sake of it.

Therefore, the policy of magnifying political errors has been adopted by all parties without exception and the rasp of the crisis has bloodied the parties' tongues although they imagine that the blood is not their own.

The Front and the Crisis

The front--the crisis, two opposites that have been imposed by the concerns of the nation on the Egyptian intellect to the point where the National Front has become the solution to the crisis and the means to dissipate the nation's concerns.

However, the differences between parties concerning the nature and the reasons for the crisis, and the nature and components of the front have pushed the front's concept to a dead end.

Insofar as the controversy concerning the nature and the dimensions of the crisis is concerned, we can limit ourselves at this stage, in principle, to one of the crisis' dimensions on which the parties agree and which evolves from present living conditions.

As to the disagreement concerning the nature and the make-up of the front, and in the absence of a broad and exclusive model of the "National Front", we can limit ourselves to one form of the front's activity--in stages--that deals with one of the crisis' dimensions on which the antagonists agree. Within this framework the objective will not be a front between all parties and political forces to deal with all the dimensions of the crisis because such an objective would be beyond human nature and is not likely to be implemented in view of the continuing differences between parties and political forces.

Based on this logic one form of the front's activity can be endorsed by the National Party and some of the opposition parties to achieve a limited objective to deal with religious extremism for example.

Moreover, another front's activity can be endorsed by the opposition parties and the other political forces to achieve yet another objective (remedy the democratic conditions for example). Furthermore, all parties can rally at a given moment if the nation faces an external threat or if a domestic adversity occurs that requires national mobilization.

Undoubtedly, many forms of the front's activity have been carried out recently and more precisely in the beginning of the eighties. The most prominent of these forms of activity has been the "National Committees for the Defense of Democracy" which was formed by the opposition parties following the parliamentary elections of last year (1984), the recent appeal by 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi last July, and the meeting between President Husni Mubarak and the leaders of the opposition parties that took place last October following the interception of the Egyptian civilian plane by American jet fighters to assume a national position in the face of Israeli contentiousness and American piracy. AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI had reported on a previous occasion on the various front's practices since President Mubarak took office (issue number 878 of 11 November 1985).

Furthermore, there is no doubt that the continuation of the front's activity and its increased interest in dealing with the various dimensions of the crisis will create a common ground for most political forces to meet. Therefore, the responsibility falls on all political parties--including the National Party--to give up the rasp-licking policy and to reject the method of fishing for errors. However, this is not easily accomplished due to various reasons, one of which is the inability of Egyptian parties to follow sound party practices whether during the period of national parliamentary democracy period prior to 1952, or during the period of the one party system (the National Union--the Socialist Union). A second reason is the absence of mass bases and party representation in parliament. A third reason is the domination of the National Party over political life.

All the above reasons have made party action just sacrosanct speeches and a pile of mutual insults to the point where the party's newspaper has become, in some cases, most of the activity of the party and in some other cases, the sole party activity. Thus we can speak of the paper party...and examples of this fact are clear.

Therefore, abandoning the rasp-licking policy and the rejection of the method of fishing for errors are difficult but possible objectives. However, the non-fulfillment of these objectives would lead to the collapse of the parties and second to the end of any talk about genuine front work.

Opportunity and Salvation

There is no doubt that the present stage that the Egyptian society has been experiencing since the beginning of the eighties, and will continue to experience through the next decade, is different than the Nasirite stage and the Sadat stage.

This is not a stage for the construction or expansion of a certain economic sector or for the restriction of political life to a singular political organization. Furthermore, it is not an open-door stage (in its confusion) or a stage in which formal democracy is granted or withdrawn according to the circumstances. It is, however, a national salvation stage from a crisis that is increasingly widening and deepening day after day. The economic dimension of this crisis is made of a group of disorders and deficiencies--according to Doctor Jamal Hamdan--domestic imbalances between what we produce and what we consume, between what we save and what we invest, and between what we produce in goods and what we produce in services. The domestic imbalances are reflected in foreign imbalances in the form of deficit in the balance of payment, increasing foreign debt, and a growing foreign dependence.

The crisis in its political dimension is the absence of people's political participation in the decision-making process as a maximum requirement (of democracy), the absence of a party system that includes all political forces and tendencies, and that gives each force its relative weight on the political map as a maximum requirement (of democracy).

Moreover, we cannot ignore the crisis in its regional dimension (Egyptian--Arab rift), or in its international dimension (special American-Egyptian relations, and the position towards Israeli contentiousness). We cannot ignore the fact that the political leadership and the opposition parties have worked quickly to achieve national salvation and to solve the crisis which was created by past policies.

Therefore, in the economic arena the National Economic Conference was held and included opposition parties and all parties were invited to submit their thoughts on the question of subsidy. Moreover, the parasitic and corrupting liberalization elements were defeated. Furthermore, slogans for the liberalization of production were raised despite the fact that the matter remained at the slogan level even for the self-sufficiency slogan.

However, the above indications remain as evidence of a new trend regardless of how it is judged.

In the field of democracy, political prisoners who had participated in the 1981 incidents were freed. Moreover, the Wafd party was revived by a judicial ruling, party newspapers started publication, and for the first time since 1952

the opposition enjoys the number of representatives it now has in parliament despite the criticism that was directed against the party laws, the election by roster law, and the honesty of the elections. Undoubtedly these were positive steps that are nevertheless, too limited and too slow.

In the international arena positive steps were carried out to achieve Arab rapprochement and to support the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legal and sole representative of the Palestinian people. The first of these steps was the withdrawal of the Egyptian ambassador in Tel Aviv following the Zionist invasion of Beirut in June 1982. The last of these steps was the "Cairo Declaration" in the first week of this month. Moreover, the attitude towards the American partner was clear last October and took an unprecedented form since 1974.

If the past steps that were carried out by past policies to achieve national salvation and to solve the crisis in its economic, democratic, and foreign dimensions represent the minimum of what should be accomplished, they represent at the same time the signs of a new phase, and a historical opportunity to achieve consecutive steps to accomplish national salvation and to solve the crisis.

Furthermore, this historical opportunity could be wasted because of the "open-door Mafia"--as President Mubarak calls it--whose interest lies in the continuation of present conditions. Moreover, this opportunity could also be wasted if political parties continue in their "rasp-licking policies."

...until a new part in this series of articles.

Interview with Shukri

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 25 Nov 85 pp 22-23

[Interview with Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Socialist Labor Party, by Rida Hila; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] To start with, do you believe that the establishment of a National Front is an objective necessity in this latest period?

[Answer] The subject of the front is not a new question. The Labor Party had already called for the creation of a front to achieve a specific objective, i.e., to improve the democratic conditions in Egypt.

I had called, on the 1-year anniversary of the 1984 parliamentary elections, for a meeting between parties and those who represent existing political tendencies which are not represented through a party due to the party laws. I invited them to meet so that we can decide together on what we should recommend and do to remedy existing conditions and achieve a true democracy.

[Question] Therefore, in your opinion the front's necessity is to achieve democracy?

[Answer] Yes, a front is necessary to change the bad laws, i.e., the emergency laws, the party laws, and the election by roster laws.

When we speak of any type of front the party law constitutes a major obstacle facing us. There are parties that are recognized but there are political tendencies that are not represented by a party. Therefore, a front that includes only parties would not represent all the political forces.

[Question] Do you believe that the problem of democracy is the main problem in the Egyptian arena and necessitates the existence of a front?

[Answer] Yes this is my personal option (maybe the party agrees with me on that). I maintain that democracy is the real key to all of Egypt's problems even if we imagine that the solution to these problems cannot be found in democracy. For example, if we speak of economic membership (in political organizations), and national problems as a whole, we would be speaking first, in my opinion, of democracy. Therefore, when we submitted the subject of a front we emphasized the question of democracy and we stated that those who support us in the defense of democracy and the amendment of the laws that restrict liberties can be members of our front. Moreover, I believe that democracy should be the only cornerstone of the action of any front...why?

The National Party implements a democracy tailor-made to fit its objectives. How can I join it? Do I join it through appointment as I have joined the People's Assembly? Do I join it along with a party like the Grouping Party which is not represented in the People's Assembly despite the fact that it received the electorate votes in the elections? In this way the question would be: who would the members be? Therefore, the front's objective would be the improvement of democratic conditions. Otherwise, the front would be supportive of existing conditions and a cover-up for mistakes and a style of government which I am certain is autocratic. We want a democracy that begins with the National Party itself and ends with a true representation of the people in the People's Assembly.

[Question] In your opinion who should be included in the National Front regardless of the latter's objectives?

[Answer] I believe that all parties that are legally recognized, the political tendencies that are not represented through parties, and elements of the National Party that believe in the necessity of changing conditions closer to democracy should all participate in the front.

[Question] Who should be responsible to call for the establishment of the front?

[Answer] This would be easy if a conceptual agreement is reached because then any party can call and become responsible for the establishment of the front.

In practice the front is created without prior preparation or invitation. Following the Israeli aggression on the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Tunis, the parties met to condemn the Israeli aggression and the American support of it.

The same thing occurred following the interception of the Egyptian civilian plane by American jet fighters. How was this type of front action formed? The parties met and signed two statements that expressed their will and thoughts. Moreover, they agreed to meet if similar circumstances arise. This type of front action took place between opposition parties regardless of their political inclinations. Therefore, participation with the National Party in front action should be preceded by a step to amend the election laws and I do not go so far as to require new elections before participating with the National Party.

[Question] Do we take it then that you refuse to participate with the National Party in front action under the present circumstance?

[Answer] We do not reject the idea of front activities but I would like to ask: a front for what purpose? The proposal of Professor al-Sharqawi is one that he should be thanked for, particularly his statement that no one party is capable of solving Egypt's problems.

However, the ruling party's actions exclude all other parties. For example, President Mubarak invited parties to participate in the conference on the Egypt of tomorrow. However, Dr Fuad Muhyi al-Din and Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim thwarted this attempt despite the fact that the invitation was made by the president himself. Moreover, the National Party has not yet welcomed the front through any of his spokesmen. The National Party has to first recognize the existence of other parties.

[Question] However, doesn't the political platform of the National Party insist on the necessity of national agreement on a number of issues?

[Answer] We would like actions that would implement that statement. The problem is basically a question of democracy. Moreover, I repeat that my condition to participate in any front is the amelioration of democratic conditions and I will call anew for that type of improvement.

Interview with Murad

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 25 Nov 85 p 23

[Interview with Dr Hilmi Murad, secretary general of the Socialist Labor Party, by Rida Hilal; date and place not specified]

[Text] The recent events that followed the Israeli aggression on the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the interception of the Egyptian civilian plane by American jet fighters confirmed the need for an Egyptian national front to unite all national forces to face foreign challenges because we face Israeli contentiousness which is supported by America, and we face the violation of Egyptian sovereignty because the Egyptian plane was an extension of Egyptian territory.

Furthermore, if we do not take the proper stand, we will not be taken seriously because the latest events carry with them a dangerous message.

[Question] Does this mean that the foreign circumstances prevail over domestic circumstances and over the objective that prevailed prior to the latest events?

[Answer] The opposition parties have issued two statements concerning the recent events and asked that the matter be submitted to the People's Assembly. No, we do not ignore the domestic circumstances, but I would like to say that al-Sharqawi's appeal came after his attack on religious groups which he described as extremists. Therefore, I understood his appeal to be an invitation to form a front that would include parties to deal with extremist religious groups. Here we ask, is al-Sharqawi's front a way to cover up for the government in a certain situation? Or was he asked to call for the creation of a front for the benefit of the government?

[Question] What is your answer to both of these questions?

[Answer] Al-Sharqawi has for years spoken of a front between parties to reach an agreement concerning Egypt's general problems instead of wasting energy in attacks and counterattacks and enmities between the parties.

Furthermore, my personal knowledge of al-Sharqawi has convinced me of al-Sharqawi's true belief in the front. However, the timing of his appeal was not appropriate, in addition to his exchange of insults with some leftist groups at a time when we were calling for the creation of the front.

[Question] What is in your view the main objective of the front?

[Answer] The main objective of the front is to deal with Egypt's domestic and foreign problems which are interrelated.

[Question] Don't you believe that this would make the problem too large for any front to handle?

[Answer] Yes, however we can define the main problems, for example, the problem of democracy is one that the parties disagree on, the laws that restrict liberties and which Dr Jamal al-'Utayfi--a member of the National Party--called the laws with the bad reputation. Why don't we abolish them? Moreover, why don't we review the law of elections by roster?

Furthermore, I say that the problem of democracy constitutes the main point of disagreement between the opposition parties and the National Party and the reason for the citizen's shying away from political participation.

[Question] How about the other problems?

[Answer] The problem of democracy is the main problem and I submit that no other problems will be solved unless the problem of democracy is resolved.

Democracy is the key to solving the problems and in my opinion is the essence of the front.

[Question] In your opinion what are the components of the front?

[Answer] The front should include first of all the political parties and then it should include the national forces and the important political tendencies that play a role in society.

[Question] What do you mean by national forces and political tendencies?

[Answer] I mean that if there is a strong religious tendency, or representatives of the Copts or representatives of the Nasirites...and so on. However, we will not start with them, i.e., the representatives of the political forces and tendencies, because if we did the front would not be formed since each group would disagree on who should represent it, especially since each political tendency has many groups. On the other hand, the political parties are legal organizations accepted by the government and their representatives are chosen on the basis of a widely accepted method. Moreover, if we start with a limited membership, we are more likely to succeed than if we started with a grandiose and "eruptive" beginning, if such a term can be used.

[Question] In your opinion what type of influence would the front have if it is formed?

[Answer] The front should be consulted but prior to that the various parties should be well represented in the People's Assembly. Moreover, we can in various phases discuss and request the amendment of the law of elections by roster. However, at this stage, we should not exaggerate and ask for new elections. Furthermore, the government should meet with the front and should consult it on the different problems.

[Question] Do you then believe that the front's duties should be of a consultative nature?

[Answer] The front's role can only be consultative as long as there is a government because the government is responsible for implementation and consultation is not binding. However, if good intention prevails and there is a desire for reform then the front will be important. At any rate the people will be the deciding factor since it is the source of power.

At the end of this interview, I would like to emphasize that there is an urgent need for a National Front because Egypt is at a dangerous crossroad in its history.

Interview with Mursi

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 25 Nov 85 pp 24-25

[Interview with Dr Fuad Mursi, secretary of the political committee of the Grouping Party, by Rida Hilal; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] How far is the appeal for the establishment of a National Front in the circles of the Grouping Party?

[Answer] We called for the creation of the front several years ago and our appeal continued after the assassination of al-Sadat. However, we have in this matter a concept that takes into account the objective we would like to attain and hence we believe Egypt's problems will not be solved by one class, one party, or one political force. Front action is inevitable if Egypt's problems are to be solved.

[Question] This raises the question of what the Grouping Party considers the objective of the front?

[Answer] Actually there is more than one reason for the need for the front's action because the problem is no longer only the salvation of Egypt as a whole--although it is an urgent necessity--but what is required now is to face up to those forces that showed enmity towards Egypt and that grossly violated Egypt's national sovereignty. In this context, we see Israel and America as the enemy. Therefore, there must be a front action to face up to America and Israel because the government cannot face up to them alone and this was obvious last month.

[Question] Does this mean that in the opinion of the Grouping Party the objective of the front is to face up to Israel and America?

[Answer] Do not put words in my mouth. I said that during last month it became apparent to the majority of the Egyptian people that there is a foreign power, i.e., Israel and America that disdains Egypt and violates its sovereignty, and I refer to the Israeli raid on Tunis and the immediate American support of it, and the aggression on the Egyptian civilian airplane.

We totally reject this situation and rebel against it. We realize that the government cannot stand alone and, therefore, it must depend on the movement of the masses to stand up to America politically and economically. I do not mean by the movement of the masses just demonstrations but I mean the movement of the masses in all the working places in Egypt: in the factory, the field, the cooperative, the club, the party, the association, and the trade union.

[Question] I repeat my question: Is the front's objective to stand up to America and Israel?

[Answer] The objective of the front is to liberate the Egyptian National will and therefore the need for the movement of the masses politically and economically.

[Question] Based on this objective, in the opinion of the Grouping Party, who should the front include?

[Answer] All of those who approve of liberating the Egyptian will from American and Israeli chains.

[Question] What do you mean by "all", because all Egyptians approve of liberating the Egyptian national will?

[Answer] In this case all Egyptians are welcome. However, there is in Egypt, if you did not know, an American party that refuses this. This party is made up of big capitalists and the parasites that favor liberalization.

[Question] Precisely what are the political forces that can form the front's components?

[Answer] I do not speak of political forces but of social forces.

[Question] Should the front be basically between parties and political tendencies?

[Answer] The front is an expression of social forces that would like to agree on an objective before we speak of politics and political parties.

Moreover, the majority of Egyptian social forces are nationalistic, i.e., their interests are within Egypt and are not linked to American interests and goals.

[Question] Is a political party, from a scientific point of view, the consolidation of the interests of a social force and an expression of that force?

[Answer] Social forces may or may not be represented in parties. At any rate there is a major party (the National Party) which is controlled by the open-door mafia but which also includes genuine nationalistic entities and trade and vocational unions. Moreover, there is the Wafd Party which includes elements of the open-door mafia but whose major forces are nationalistic and democratic that has followed a clearly nationalistic line during disasters as those that occurred last month. The same applies to the Liberals' Party. However, the Labor and Grouping parties are free of the open-door mafia. Furthermore, the Grouping Party and I believe that President Husni Mubarak is without any doubt a nationalistic personality and that the problem lies with the open-door mafia elements in the National Party. However, the appeal for the creation of a front is not directed only at political parties but to all social forces and their various political expressions even though they might be unofficial or unclear. The Nasirites, for example, are a national force that does not form a party. The same thing applies to the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian communists.

I made certain that I differentiated between social forces and parties because the front's appeal is directed at all social forces.

[Question] However, would this universality hinder the effectiveness of the front?

[Answer] The front has an objective that is changed to a plan of action. This plan of action has to be implemented and it requires at this stage the assistance of the government system. In this case, the government can accept the front program and hence becomes a part of it, or it can reject it which forces the front to implement its program on its own.

[Question] You stated in articles that appeared in AL-AHALI concerning the position of the grouping vis-a-vis the issue of the National Front that the only front is one that is against parasitism, dependency, and corruption. However, today you are calling for a front to stand up to America and Israel. Does this not constitute a contradiction in your opinion.

[Answer] The Grouping Party has been a front party since its creation, i.e., it is a party that believes that the problems cannot be solved without the establishment of a front. Therefore, its perception of the front is an integral part of its political philosophy to bring about the Egyptian revolution.

Moreover, following the assassination of Sadat, we submitted an appeal to form a salvation front whose goal is to abolish Sadat's policies and to start other policies. As to the Sadat policies which we would like abolished, they are as follows: the open-door policy, the special relationship with America, the separate peace with Israel, and the democracy that depends for its growth on the will of the ruler. We suggest the following policies as an alternative: a return to independent and planned development, non-alignment, commitment to Arab nationalism and the Palestinian cause, and universal democracy. This front in our opinion is a tactical front to remove obstacles that prevent the achievement of the revolution.

[Question] Does this mean that you are willing to participate in any front activity to accomplish any of the above goals?

[Answer] Certainly, that is why during the recent events we suggested the idea of a front to liberate the Egyptian national will.

[Question] Therefore it is true that AL-AHALI articles were a part of the framework concerning the exchange of attacks about the "front"?

[Answer] What I would like to emphasize is that the idea of a front is an intricate part of the Grouping Party's conceptualization, and it is absolutely not true that the Grouping Party wants to achieve only one of the goals it has suggested.

[Question] More precisely, were AL-AHALI articles an expression of the position of the Grouping Party?

[Answer] This is a secondary and formal issue because you are asking me if they did or did not receive the stamp of approval of the party. This is not the main issue. Rather the issue is whether or not we want a front against the extremist religious groups. My answer to that is "no" because we do not consider them a main enemy of our country. They are not Israel, America, or the open-door mafia. Furthermore, Mr al-Sharqawi would open the front to some extremist religious groups and the rest he would reject. Therefore, he is suggesting to us that these groups should be sorted out. However, who would be willing and able to do the sorting?

[Question] You have also stated that the objective behind the recent appeal for the creation of a front is to remove the Grouping Party and deprive it of the fruit of its opposition.

[Answer] We did not state that.

[Question] This was reported in AL-AHALI articles?

[Answer] I wrote and stated that al-Sharqawi's appeal is courageous and that he should be thanked for his premonition of danger. Moreover, I stated that his courage and nationalism cannot be doubted. However, when al-Sharqawi replied in an unacceptable manner to AL-ALHALI's articles, I wrote that al-Sharqawi's appeal seems to be an attempt to fight the Grouping Party and not to fight the extremist religious groups against whom he wanted everyone to unite. His attack on the Grouping Party was heinous and totally unacceptable. We inferred from al-Sharqawi's attack on the grouping that the front will be formed as a mechanism against the grouping. Furthermore, I have a question that takes precedence over all this: why do you reopen this subject which we have totally exhausted.

[Question] To probe the position of the Grouping Party.

[Answer] In short, the recent events proved an important fact, i.e., the front should be against Israel and America, not against the extremist religious groups. Furthermore, the front was formed in effect and without philosophizing when the right moment arose, and in my opinion the recent statement by the leaders of the parties is a form of front activity. This means that the front's establishment does not depend on a ruler's or party's order but on national and democratic necessities.

[Question] You used the term "Egyptian revolution" on several occasions. May I ask you to define this term?

[Answer] The Egyptian revolution began in the last century beginning with 'Urabi's 1882 revolution through the 1919 and 1952 revolutions and has not yet been achieved either on the national or democratic levels.

This revolution has gained social and socialist dimensions since 1952. Therefore, the Egyptian revolution has a socialist content and a national [Arab] dimension as an extension of its patriotic [Egyptian] dimension.

The achievement of this revolution is a long process and will require many years, and in our attempt to accomplish it, we face existing conditions with the idea of the creation of a front. However, we cannot imagine that the tasks that are required can be fulfilled by one party even if it is the Grouping Party.

Front in History

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 25 Nov 85 p 26

[Text] The National Front, 1935

Egypt witnessed at the end of 1935 one of its most important historical events, i.e., the formation of a national front to call for the restoration

of the constitution and the conclusion of a treaty between itself and Britain following the latter's refusal to restore the 1923 constitution according to the "Haure" declaration of 9 November 1935.

This declaration affected the Egyptians deeply because it was a clear recognition of British intervention in Egypt's important affairs and a condemnation of the cabinet of Nasim Pasha which consulted the British government concerning the constitution.

The Demonstrations of 1935

The Egyptian historian 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Rafi'i recounted that demonstrations errupted in Cairo and some other cities on 13 November 1935 to protest the "Haure declaration" during the celebration of the anniversary of al-Jihad. The police responded to these demonstrations by firing on the demonstrators which led to bloody incidents and aroused public anger. The demonstrations were repeated the next day (14 November) and the following days. The most important of these demonstrations was the one that was carried out by the students of the University of Fu'ad al-Awwal (today the University of Cairo). This demonstration began at the university campus and then headed towards Cairo. It was met by police gunfire and several students were killed: Muhammad 'Abd-al-Majid Mursi, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hukm al-Jarrah, and 'Ali Taha 'Afifi.

A general demonstration took place on 28 November to mourn the martyrs. The stores closed in Cairo, the press protested, businesses shut down, and the capital appeared in deep mourning. On 7 December the students erected a monument for the student martyrs and led a large demonstration which was confronted by police. However, the demonstration continued and al-Rafi'i reported that the November and December 1935 demonstrations represented a glorious page in the youth's history. Moreover, he called it a quasi-revolution because he considered it a smaller version of the 1919 revolution since it was followed by a coalition between parties and the restoration of the constitution.

The National Coalition of 1935

The idea of uniting the ranks was revived in November 1935 and gained momentum following the bloody events that resulted from the students demonstrations.

The parties agreed to unite on the basis of the restoration of the 1923 constitution, the holding of free elections, and the conclusion of a treaty between Egypt and England according to the provisions of the proposal that ensued from the Nahas-Henderson negotiations of the spring of 1930. However, the National Party rejected the treaty because it violated the principle of total withdrawal. Therefore it limited its coalition with other parties on the first requirement [restoration of the constitution, free elections] rather than the second requirement for the coalition.

The attempts to unite the parties were successful and led to the creation of the "national front" in December 1935 which included the Egyptian Wafd Party,

the National Party, The Liberals' Constitutionalist Party, the Popular Party, and the Union Party. Therefore, the front included all existing parties at the time in addition to the independents. Moreover, a drafting committee was formed to draft a letter to King Fu'ad and a letter to the British high commissioner, Sir Miles Lampson. The committee included: Makram 'Ubayd representing the Wafd, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Rafi'i of the National Party, Muhammad Husayn Haykal for the Liberals' Constitutionalist Party, Ahmad Kamil for the Popular Party, and Hilmi al-'Isawi for the Union Party. However, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Rafi'i withdrew from the committee during the drafting of the letter to the British high commissioner concerning the negotiation.

King Fu'ad responded positively to the National Front's request and enacted a royal decree restoring the 1923 constitution, and Britain agreed to the National Front's request to negotiate to sign the treaty.

On 22 January 1936 a delegation was formed to negotiate with the British government the conclusion of an alliance treaty between the two countries. The delegation was formed of representatives of the Egyptian Wafd Party, the Liberals' Constitutionalist Party, the Popular Party, the Union Party, and the Independents' Party. The National Party was not represented due to its policy of "no negotiations prior to withdrawal."

Recapitulation of Series

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 6 Jan 86 pp 58-59

[Article by Rida Hilal]

[Text] Since the subject of the National Front has been one of the main concerns of the national forces due to the present crisis of the Egyptian resurgence project whether on the democratic, economic, or national levels, AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI--being a national platform--has attempted to discuss the subject of the National Front because it is convinced that it is a subject that interests all national forces and trends in Egypt, is not the monopoly of one force or trend, and is based on the national analysis of the nature of the stage the Egyptian society lives in, the democratic debate between the various parties, and on the ability to become inspired by the historical experience of the Egyptian political movement.

Based on this rationale, the first articles included first an analytical part concerning the nature of the national crisis, and the nature of the legal and effective political forces and trends on the Egyptian scene. It then concluded that the front and the crisis are equivalent being imposed upon by the troubles of the nation in the Egyptian intellect. However, due to the disagreement between the political forces and trends concerning the goal, components, structure, and effectiveness of the front, the solution required quired the availability of various front's activities to achieve various goals and required that the front be formed of elements that agree among themselves rather than run behind the mirage of forming an all encompassing and exclusive front and mull over confused dreams.

Furthermore, the articles included, in essence, many interviews about the National Front with representatives of the legal political parties and elements of the political trends that are present on the scene without, however, claiming that all trends were represented. Moreover, a group of basic questions were asked whose objective was to determine the degree of understanding from the interviewees on the necessity of the front, its goals and components, the organization of the appeal to form it, its structure, and influence, and its relationship to the ruling party and the government.

The group of interviewees included--based on the sequence of the articles and with due regard to title--the following: Dr Wahid Ra'fat (the Wafd Party), Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani (Muslim Brotherhood), Shaykh Salah abu-Isma'il (religious current), Pope Shanudah the Third (Patriarch of the Copts), Engineer, Ibrahim Shukri and Dr Hilmi Murad (Labor Party), Dr Fu'ad Mursi (Grouping Party), Mr Farid 'Abd-al-Karim (Nasirite current) and Mr Nabil al-Hilali (communist current). We have tried to interview Dr Yusif Wali the secretary general of the Ruling Party but he declined on the ground that he is not empowered to speak for the party. Moreover, we have tried several times to interview Safwat al-Sharif the minister of information and official spokesman of the party but our attempts failed.

The serialized articles ended with an attempt to review the role played by the National Front in the Egyptian political movement.

First, there was the Farmers' Front that was established in 1879 under the leadership of Ahmad 'Urabi. It is the former National Party of 1907--which was shaped after a front model--under the leadership of Mustafa Kamil, and the Egyptian Wafd Party of 1918 which was headed by Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha. Following this there were attempts to form a front between the parties beginning with the 1925 coalition, the National Front of 1935 and ending with the National Front of 1946. The objective of this review is to study the history of the Egyptian political movement.

Despite the fact that we firmly believe that we have only done our duty, we feel we should recognize all those who contributed to this debate concerning the front and all those who enriched it with their opinions making it a democratic, national, and honest debate. However, the final judgment on this will be left to the reader.

Interview with 'Abd-al-Karim

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 6 Jan 86 pp 60-61

[Interview with Farid 'Abd-al-Karim of the Nasirite current; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] To start with, do the Nasirites see a necessity for the existence of a front under one form or another at the present time?

[Answer] What Egypt is experiencing both on the political and economic levels requires a concerted effort--regardless of any disagreement that may exist--to deal with the crisis that is experienced by the nation.

A front would bring together opponents to face up to a crisis which, if it continues, would destroy them. The front which was formed in England between the Labor and Conservative parties to deal with World War II was necessary because had the Nazis won the war it would have destroyed England, the democratic system, and the two parties.

Therefore, I conclude that if the crisis is general in nature and when a partial effort cannot overcome it then a front becomes necessary.

[Question] In the case of Egypt, what is the nature of the crisis which requires the existence of a front?

[Answer] In Egypt's case we find that its national independence is threatened and that its enemies were able to control it and influence to a great degree its political and economic independence.

On the economic level the Egyptian people is experiencing a crisis it has not witnessed for the past 30 years.

Moreover, since the philosophy of the present government which was approved by all the political forces and tendencies--including the National Party--considers political democracy a priority and since this is a new characteristic everyone agreed on, and by so doing accepted the people as the supreme arbiter, and since the practice of democracy--with everyone's admission--is less than perfect, democracy becomes the main objective.

[Question] Does this mean that the main objective of the Front is the question of democracy?

[Answer] Whenever the front is discussed the following questions will be raised: a front with whom? against whom? for what purpose? and with what type of platform? We the Nasirites have proposed a program based on four points first of which being democracy and how it could be strengthened because it is a point all political forces can rally around.

[Question] What type of democracy are the Nasirites talking about? Is it a democracy in the Western sense, i.e., a multiparty system?

[Answer] Yes, and we the Nasirites have a specific opinion on the question of democracy. First, one cannot separate social democracy from political democracy and it is not right that democracy should start with a certain part of the population that enjoys both ability and financial means. This is what reactionary political parties and forces around the world call for. They want democracy only for themselves. However, we the Nasirites find a strong link between social and political democracy and we insist that democracy is to be enjoyed by all the people.

[Question] May I ask you if the Nasirites' call for democracy is just a tactic, i.e., is it an opportunistic request since the Nasirite experience was established on a one and not a multiparty system?

[Answer] This is a question that is based on a wrong premise. The struggle of 'Abd-al-Nasir was to remove the obstacles to democracy to enable the people to participate in the government and to give it the opportunities to express and impose its opinion. This would not have been possible without educating the people and making it aware of its revolution and its financial rights. Those who are unable to buy bread do not look for democracy because democracy becomes a luxury. Nasir's objective ultimately was to achieve the freedom of man and to enable the majority of the people to participate [in government] and not just the intelligentsia and the initiated.

'Abd-al-Nasir removed the collar from around the neck of the destitute, the poor, the farmer, and the worker so that each one of them can be counted as one vote equal to any other vote in the population and with the right to participate in the government.

'Abd-al-Nasir wanted to abolish the legacy that was imposed on the uneducated to keep their children illiterate, and on the poor to keep their children in poverty. Furthermore, he wanted this people to rise and to shout demanding to participate in the government.

The second and basic point is that 'Abd-al-Nasir did not establish one party and he endorsed the concept of plurality within the framework of the union. In addition, he believed in natural rather than artificial plurality that reflects popular traits and is not linked to foreign forces. 'Abd-al-Nasir did use the one party system. The Liberation Body, the National Union, and the Socialist Union were not parties. It is true that the party format was used in these organizations. However, they were not parties because a party is an expression of a class.

[Question] Let me rephrase my question: The Nasirite experiment was not based on the multiparty system. However, the Nasirites are now calling for a multiparty system. Doesn't this reflect a contradiction?

[Answer] The experiment had not fully matured. 'Abd-al-Nasir on many occasions recognized the importance of divergent opinions as a prelude to adopting the multiparty system.

We call now for plurality because we would like the people to judge our suggestions. We suggest that this people be a part of the Arab Nation that is why we call for unity. We also suggest that socialism is the way to abolish parasitism and we see that the special relationship with America is harmful although others do not feel the same way we do. Moreover, when we proposed a program that included four points (democracy, rebuilding Egypt, abolishment of Camp David, return to the Arab Nation) we called upon all people to rally around the four points or any of these points. We propose a wide front for one purpose, i.e., to achieve democracy which is a goal we can agree to accomplish and to strengthen especially that the ruling party claims that it is based on democracy in thought, program, and methodology.

[Question] This raises the question concerning the make-up of the front?

[Answer] It should be made of all the political forces and currents so that we may be able to remove all obstacles and impediments. We Nasirites are a political force that is recognized by foe and friend. We are recognized by the Americans, the Israelis, the ruling party, and the opposition parties.

[Question] Therefore, who are the Nasirites?

[Answer] The Nasirites constitute a wide trend in the Arab Nation as a whole that includes those who believe in the real dimensions called for by 'Abd-al-Nasir and in his program, i.e., unity. It includes also those who believe in the Arab form of socialism and in curbing those who oppose the culture and interests of this nation. Anyone who believes in this is a Nasirite whether he is a member of the Labor Party or the Grouping Party or if he intends to organize the power of the Nasirite tendency into a party.

[Question] However, who claims the honor of representing the Nasirites?

[Answer] No one person claims this honor. There is no new 'Abd-al-Nasir. If the Nasirite tendency is organized it will define its leadership and its relationship with the Nasirite masses. However, I can never deny the right of anyone who claims to be a Nasirite whether he is a member of the Labor or Grouping parties of it he opposes joining any party.

The Nasirites are those who believe in a basic symbol, i.e., the freedom for all Arab nationals, and socialism as an inevitable and only solution to get rid of economic underdevelopment and social injustice to establish one democratic nation that extends from the Atlantic to the Gulf--a nation that is socialist in its methods and humanitarian in its essence.

[Question] Let me rephrase my question: If a National Front is formed who will represent the Nasirites, the National Party, the Labor Party, the Grouping Party, or Farid 'Abd-al-Karim or Kamal Ahmad, etc.?

[Answer] I can never agree that the National Party represents any part of the Nasirites although I admit that some Nasirites have joined the National Party to change its concepts and methods from within. However, the National Party as a party is opposite to Nasirism in its policy, program, and methods. Moreover, it came about historically to abolish Nasirism and the Nasirites. In addition, I cannot accept that the Grouping Party represent the Nasirite tendency despite the fact that it raises the banners of Nasirism through a program that is almost Nasirite in substance because the Grouping Party is an original form that includes communists, Nasirites, fundamentalists, and enlightened elements. However, we have some differences with the Grouping Party concerning its policy and program. Therefore, it represents only itself. As to the Labor Party we can find many Nasirites in its membership. However, historical differences in the creation of this Party and in some of its policies, eg., its acceptance--although with reservation--of Camp David despite the fact that it has changed its policy on this issue, and in spite of the new relationship between the young Egypt organization with the base of Nasirism, this party does not represent the Nasirites.

At present the Nasirites are represented by themselves in a popular party that is being formed that includes all Nasirite cadre and youth, those who worked with 'Abd-al-Nasir and those who did not witness that period, who are working in total harmony with continuing progress.

[Question] Do you mean the party that is formed by the "Nasirite Arab Socialist Party"?

[Answer] The Nasirites are the ones that form it. I am just a lawyer that is attempting to place this tendency within a legal framework.

[Question] However, there is another Nasirite party that is being formed by Mr Kamal Ahmad?

[Answer] Mr Kamal Ahmad has applied to create the Nasirite Working People Union Party. However, his application has not yet been approved. I would like also to add that as a tendency we lack official recognition and if we acquire it through someone we would welcome it and we would not oppose that person because we swore that this is the right of all Nasirites and is not limited to only one of them.

[Question] Would you join him if he receives official recognition?

[Answer] Official recognition would be to all Nasirites. He would be joining us.

[Question] Am I to understand then that the creation of two Nasirite parties is a tactical move and a role distribution between Nasirites?

[Answer] This is real and not a role distribution since there was no prior agreement.

Moreover, I would like to add that there is a huge Nasirite tendency at the Arab Nation level that is organizing itself through the Nasirite Arab Socialist Party and we will benefit from official recognition if it is acquired through someone else.

Interview with al-Hilali

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 6 Jan 86 pp 62-63

[Interview with Nabil al-Hilali of the communist current; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Do you believe that it is now necessary to establish a National Front?

[Answer] We do not experience at present just a stifling economic crisis but we are also experiencing a political crisis. Therefore, the issue of change has become more pressing in the past few years, and the required change will not occur on its own but with the common effort of all the forces that want

change, an effort that is reflected in a wide national democratic alliance. Moreover, because this alliance is a pressing necessity it imposes itself with increasing force. In addition, the many forms of the front's activities have increased which reflects a milestone in an actual front. However, these many forms of activity are inadequate because they represent limited meetings concerning limited issues (like the defense of freedoms), or (the national culture), or (the defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples). They are more like seasonal meetings. Therefore, they suffer from the rise and fall syndrome. However, the situation cannot tolerate this because our people are not facing temporary or passing dangers but rather a well-defined imperialist and Zionist plan that requires a total and permanent resistance and not just incidental and scattered united stands whenever an occasion arises.

[Question] In your opinion what type of front is needed?

[Answer] The front is not an emotional encounter or the meeting of good wills or an Arab social gathering in a closed room that leads to an Arab type of reconciliation or a calculated meeting of political parties and forces. It is instead a meeting based on scientific premises and with well-defined objectives. When we speak of the front and its characteristics we should first define the front we are talking about because the front's activities are at different levels and the agencies undertaking these activities have each its laws, regulations, standards, characteristics, and limitations.

Moreover, the present stage requires three levels of interaction between the political and social forces which are able to cooperate.

First: A strategic alliance between forces which agree not only on short term goals but also on long term ones.

Second: A tactical alliance between forces that are united by short term goals but are divided by long term objectives.

Third: Limited meetings concerning limited issues with any forces that are willing to cooperate on a partial issue or more and to the degree they are willing and able to cooperate.

These three levels are important and needed, despite the fact that the strategic alliance is the most important, beneficial, and lasting and is the cornerstone of the minimum types of front activities.

However, it is obvious that what is most important does not preclude what is important.

Today's ongoing debate concerning the front is about the tactical front or what is known as the "National Salvation Front."

[Question] How do you define what you have called the "National Salvation Front"?

[Answer] The required salvation front is a temporary front with modest goals whose objective is to enable the nation once again to stand on its feet. Therefore, it is like the locomotive that should be put back on the tracks. However, this task is too difficult for any one group to carry by itself and all the national and democratic forces--despite their different ideologies and political convictions--would benefit if the locomotive was able to continue its trip. Therefore, these forces should stand together to achieve this goal even if they disagree, when the locomotive starts to move, on the average speed, the course, the number of train stops, or the final destination. Based on this concept the salvation front would be able to include many forces even if they differed deeply in their expectations and choices for the future of Egypt whether in the long or even the short term. However, it should not be an Islamic front or a Nasirite front or a liberal front. What is required from the salvation front is to extricate Egypt from its present and not plan its future. It should first save the sinking nation from asphyxiation by administering first aid. It can then agree or disagree on the cure for the nation's incurable diseases, because what is the use of describing a cure for the disease if the patient dies, and what is the use of disagreeing on the choices for the future be it liberalism, Nasirism, Islamism, or communism if the nation dies, because do the dead have a future?

[Question] How can the front carry out its salvation task?

[Answer] The salvation program has to embody an agreed upon minimum between the different components of the front and should reflect a political rather than an ideological agreement, i.e., this program's task should be to save what can be saved.

Moreover, this program's objectives should be: the achievement of Egypt's political and economic independence which requires the end of Egypt's special relationship with America, the freeing of Egypt from the chains of Camp David, and the reinstatement of Egypt to the Arab fold.

The achievement of democratic change gives the opportunity to all national and democratic forces in Egypt the right of freedom of thought, expression, organization, and political activities, and the right to submit their ideas and choices to treat the sick nation.

The accomplishment of a better standard of living for the masses.

It is self-evident that the members of the front should refrain from tailoring their program on the basis of their respective programs.

Furthermore, the Egyptian communists do not submit today their long term objectives as immediate solutions or as a quick way out of the nation's crisis because the political struggle cannot precede the short-term objectives of direct confrontation to achieve the long-term objectives.

It is also self-evident that the salvation program is less ambitious and more modest than the program of each group. At any rate, the support of the salvation program does not prevent each group from continuing its own struggle

to achieve the remaining short-term objectives provided that the individual struggle be subordinated to the requirements of the common struggle and the nature of the phase.

[Question] In your opinion who are the components of this front?

[Answer] Since we are talking about a "salvation" front, the question that immediately comes to mind is the salvation of what and from whom? The answer to this question immediately determines the components of the desired salvation front whose goal will be to save the nation from its ordeal rather than getting a ruling party out of a jam. Furthermore, the situation cannot bear vague delineations between trenches and camps and so long as we define a program for salvation those who accept that program have their place in the salvation front. However, we cannot arbitrarily exclude from this front a political or social force on the ground that it might get off the train tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. The main criterion should be the actual position of those forces vis-a-vis the front's program.

Moreover, we should not limit the membership of the salvation front to the legally recognized parties in order to exclude those forces whose constitutional right to form parties has been denied, eg., the Nasirites, the communists, and the fundamentalists, because doing so would be a grave error since it would lead to the formation of an unrealistic front that ignores existing forces. One important question still remains, i.e., does the front have a place for the ruling party?

In my opinion the answer is a categorical "no," because the salvation front is by necessity an opposition front whose objective is to save Egypt from an entire set of foreign, domestic, economic, and social policies that were followed by the ruling party the past few years and which resulted in the total dependency of the nation. Hence, the Salvation Front is a front that opposes these policies and it is not its responsibility to mend, smooth, or to adopt these policies, but to replace them.

Therefore, the Salvation Front cannot include the proponents of these policies who insist on holding on to them.

Maybe the clearest evidence that the ruling party cannot be a member of the front for the salvation of the nation is that all the forms of the front's activities which sprang from objective necessity were activities in which the ruling party was not involved. In addition, the ruling party tried to fight and to restrain these activities. Nevertheless, some of these activities were successful. Until recently anyone who called for the establishment of a front would have had to appear in front of the socialist prosecutor or the public prosecutor. Viewing the Salvation Front as a coalition or an alliance with the ruling party or an an advisory body to the government would mean that the Salvation Front becomes a rescue vehicle that rushes to save the ruling party from its predicament and a crutch for the ruling party to lean on or to continue on the same road. Therefore, we have to be careful concerning recent misleading appeals about the front whose objective is to submit a phony framework for a front in an attempt to apply the well-known economic law (bad currency chases good currency out of the market). The call to establish a

Salvation Front that would include the ruling party to oppose religious or political extremism diverts people's attention from the real and primary danger which threatens the nation, i.e., dependency and the fierce enemies of nation (America and Israel and their agents) who are present everywhere in the Arab nation. I cannot imagine how we can join within one front's framework between those who believe that freeing Egypt's will and upholding its sovereignty requires ending its special relationship with American imperialism and those who cling to that relationship, between those who call for the abrogation of Camp David and those who constantly declare their loyalty to this unfortunate deal, between those who call for an end to the conditions of dependency and those who deny their existence, between those who call for an end to the state of emergency and those who create pretexts year after year to prolong it, and between those who call for the abrogation of legislations that restrict freedom and those who endorse the proliferation of such legislations.

In summary, how can we include in one front the killer and the victim? The objective of these misleading appeals is to control the opposition parties and to impose on them the policies of the ruling party on the ground that these policies reflect national positions. This is the same logic that is used to call the government newspapers (national press). In addition, whoever deviates from these "national" obligations is accused of selling the national interest for a price and of being a foreign agent.

[Question] In your opinion how should the front be formed?

[Answer] The front's activity should not be based solely on debate despite the fact that debate is a good start. Moreover, it should not be based just on coordination despite the fact that it is an important step towards achieving a higher form of coalition and ultimately to create a complete organization. The front is not an ivory tower that includes elites and is isolated from the masses. Therefore, we have to create a front from top to bottom through the establishment of a preparatory committee to formulate the front's program and structure. Furthermore, the task of this committee should be supported through the front's base committees whose task is to rally the masses in their daily struggle because if we are limited to the leadership level of the front, we would have a very weak structure that could crumble due to any passing wind. On the other hand, if we are limited simply to initiatives by the lower echelon of the front, we would have a structure without a head or with many heads. Furthermore, the front should be based on democratic principles that guarantee equal rights and obligations to all. Therefore, the Salvation Front should not be a train with some air-conditioned cars and with some other cars that are only fit for animals, and should not be like a theatrical group that regards some of its members as stars and treats the rest as supernumeraries.

Front in 1946

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 6 Jan 86 p 64

[Text] Representatives of universities, graduate institutions, high schools, technical schools, and al-Azhar University met in the summer of 1945 in the

stadium of the medical school of the Fuad I University in Cairo. The experience of the 1919 revolution was on their minds when they decided to form a preparatory committee to pave the way for a students national committee similar to the revolutionary committees that were formed by the 1919 revolution.

The preparatory committee of the students national committee called for elections to form the higher executive committee which would include youth from al-Wafd, the communist organizations, and the Muslim Brotherhood. It issued its first statement on 7 February 1946 and on 9 February 1946 a demonstration by students of Fuad I University moved towards 'Abdin Palace calling for withdrawal (of British troops) and rejecting any negotiation before the withdrawal of British troops. Britain had rejected the Egyptian government's memorandum in which it requested the opening of negotiations between the two countries to review the 1936 treaty. This was proof of the weakness of the government and its collusion with the colonialists according to a statement by Mr Tariq al-Bishri in his valuable book (The Political Movement in Egypt, 1945-1952). The Egyptian historian 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Rafi'i recounts in a book that was published following the Egyptian revolution that the students' demonstration of 9 February 1946 led to a confrontation between police and students on the 'Abbas Bridge and that the students' demonstrations were renewed the following day. Moreover, similar demonstrations took place in Alexandria, Zaqaziq, Mansurah, and Asyut and were confronted with force by the police. These demonstrations resulted in the resignation of the cabinet of al-Nuqrashi Pasha.

Isma'il Sidqi was tasked with forming a new cabinet while the demonstrations were at their peak. As soon as he formed the new cabinet he met the various delegations and declared to the students delegation that he decided to permit the demonstrations as a sign of respect for the students' feelings. Meanwhile, the students' executive committee issued a statement in which it stressed that the purpose of negotiation with the British is total withdrawal and the unity of the Nile Valley. On 18 February, 40,000 demonstrators gathered in 'Abdin square and 15,000 gathered in the courtyard of the University at Giza. Pamphlets were distributed to them attacking imperialism and Egyptian capitalists. Furthermore, hundreds of workers gathered in al-Muski, Bulaq, and other areas calling for the withdrawal (of British troops) or for a revolution. This situation continued, according to Tariq al-Bishri until 21 February. Meanwhile, the "National Committee of Workers and Students" was formed and included the students National Executive Committee and the Workers General National Committee at Shubra al-Khaymah. The committee issued a statement declaring that the labor unions in Egypt, the Egyptian university students, al-Azhar, graduate institutions, private schools, and high schools have all decided that Thursday, 21 February 1946, should be celebrated as the day of withdrawal and should be a day in which all popular institutions and groups should go on a general strike. On the designated date, representatives of the committee spread everywhere to organize the strike and demonstrations. The transportation workers went on strike and gathered in the warehouses and workshops located at Giza, Shubra, and 'Abbasiyah and moved in a big demonstration which a growing number of people joined. Moreover, the workers of Shubra al-Khaymah converged towards Cairo. In addition, all industries, shops, schools, and universities closed down and a big demonstration started from

al-Azhar and was joined by the Party of Egypt. The demonstrations gathered in Opera square where a general national conference was held and decided to boycott the negotiations and bargaining methods and to insist on withdrawal from the Nile Valley and on the abrogation of the 1936 treaty. The demonstrations proceeded then towards Qasr al-Nil square (now al-Tahrir square) where the British barracks were located. A group of demonstrators headed towards 'Abdin square, location of the Royal Palace. British armed vehicles then appeared in Qasr al-Nil square and attempted to pass through the crowds. The demonstrators responded by throwing stones at them and the British fired at the demonstrators. Demonstrations spread in the different localities and in Alexandria and in cities like Zaqaziq, Mansurah, Isma'iliyah, Dikirnis, al-Mahalah al-Kubra, Kafr al-Shaykh, Tanta, Mina al-Qamh, Zifta, al-Manzilah, Quwaysina, and Sinbillawayn.

The National Committee of Workers and students convened on 26 February and issued a statement declaring 4 March a day of mourning over the martyrs. On that day, the nation expressed public grief through a strike in the capital, Alexandria, and most cities. Schools, stores, coffee houses, and shops were closed as a sign of public mourning and in compliance with a general strike.

Al-Rifa'i in his evaluation of these events stated: The nation appeared on withdrawal day (21 February 1946) and on public mourning day (4 March 1946) in high national spirit devoid of partisanship and dissension. It was believed that the bloody incidents that occurred in those two dismal days would lead to the closing of ranks and to bringing parties closer together similar to what occurred during the events in 1935. However, party selfishness, particularly the Wafd's, was a stumbling block that led to the failure of the youth efforts in 1946, because the Wafd systematically rejected any idea to close the ranks.

Comments by al-Khuli

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 6 Jan 86 pp 65-66

[Article by Lutfi al-Khuli: Critical Evaluation Concerning "the National Front"]

[Text] AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI study on the subject of the "National Front" is characterized by its openness and its flexibility. It permitted all the political forces and trends that are active in the Egyptian political arena to express their views, and it related the new appeal for a National Front to the history of the Egyptian national movement's front activity so that the new appeal becomes a continuation of past front activity rather than just an attempt to serve the interests of the regime. It is indeed an attempt to serve the interest of society and development.

This is a positive phenomenon we are witnessing--with much appreciation--from a "national" magazine that we believe to be a government organization. However, this does not prevent us from submitting a critical evaluation of the study of the National Front.

The basic rule is that in every phase in which the nation has faced a general and persistent danger, an effective confrontation of that danger has only been

possible through a frontal structure. If we take into consideration the present circumstances, we find that we are faced with the problem of freeing the Egyptian will from the chains imposed on it, or that some are trying to impose on it, as a result of various conditions or circumstances that include the U.S. aid, the obligations of Camp David, and the import of 70 percent of the food needs.

It is clear that we are entering a stage that requires major sacrifices to be able to overcome this overwhelming danger.

Therefore, the national body should be prepared in its entirety with the above in mind. However, the front's framework should take into account not only the general law but also the special circumstances that characterize Egyptian society.

Despite the democratic multiparty system it is still sometimes incomplete and distorted and lacks real plurality since not all social forces and political trends that wish to form a party are able to do so. Hence, the existing parties will not be sufficient to reflect the total power of the national body that is needed to form the front.

There is a major disagreement within the Egyptian political arena concerning the Camp David issue which is supported only by the ruling party. On the contrary, all the other parties in that area whether legal or semi-legal oppose these treaties and call for their abrogation immediately or through a policy that gradually contains them and ends their effects.

The question, therefore, is how can we form a front which would include the ruling party to give it a wide scope without turning it, however, into just an opposition front, but rather into an integrated national front that is based on a joint program.

If we attempt to apply the general rule of the front to the special circumstances of our society, we should--in my opinion--consider four points: The first point: It is not possible concerning the current circumstances in Egyptian to form a strategic front that has decisive political, economic, and social choices concerning Egypt's development because of the differences of the parties' programs and objectives and concerning the nature of the existing economic and social problems. This was obvious in the various discussions concerning the National Front. Therefore, the front should be a temporary tactical front whose objective is reconstruction and not a strategic front. The second point is related to the first point, i.e., the multiplicity of the front's objectives. One objective is the completion of the democratic process, i.e., the cancellation of the emergency laws that restrict freedoms, especially the freedom of forming parties which would enable the Nasirites, the communists, and political Islam to form parties. There is an agreement that what is required is not to call for socialism as an urgent goal even among those parties which consider socialism a long-term goal, but what is required is to reestablish a balance and a productivity that are characterized by the social justice of the existing capitalist system, i.e., to guide the economic output of the Egyptian capitalism and democracy to isolate and abolish parasitic activity.

Moreover, there is an agreement concerning freeing the national will from foreign pressure, particularly American pressure, which surfaced following the recent events and to be responsive to the general national tendency that calls for the reestablishment of Egypt's national role and its support of the cause of the Palestinian people with the realization that there may be an imperceptible change in dealing with Camp David that might persuade everyone within the frame of the tactical front despite their views on this subject. This change stresses that Camp David is no longer the controlling force guiding Egyptian policy but rather that Egyptian policy is regaining its independence particularly concerning the Palestine issue which in turn increases its ability to control Camp David.

Finally, there is an agreement that the change should be achieved through the democratic process, i.e., through debate, parliament, and elections as an alternative to the use of violence.

The third point: There is no social force or any one political party that is able, based on its structure and influence, to accomplish the task by itself because it does not have the mass power whether through its membership or through the type and size of organizational and recruiting ability to achieve the needed change.

According to the Peoples' Assembly 1984 elections returns, 5 million citizens, out of 20 million eligible voters, voted. Therefore, those who voted represent 25 percent of the total electorate or 10 percent of the population.

If we assume, for the sake of argument and in an optimistic way, that half of these voters are members of political parties, we can say that 5 percent of the total Egyptian population is distributed among political parties and this force cannot achieve change particularly that the masses dimension is the main element.

The fourth point: It is also clear from reviewing the debates (concerning the National Front) that each party assigns a different priority to the tasks of the front, and each party has a different awareness of the importance of these tasks according to their effects on the parties' structure and development.

Therefore, the leap to form an all-encompassing front with a comprehensive program seems at this time like an unsafe leap. We can, however, achieve such a front if it can undertake activities that receive general endorsement, i.e., the democracy issue, freeing the national will, defense of the consumers against price fixing, defense of the public sector, etc.

Front islands are thus created in society and through the creation of bridges between them, the front can be established in a natural fashion around a joint program based on democratic debate and the different experiences of past fronts.

My conclusion is that the front's action is the way out of the actual predicament in Egyptian society. This is a predicament that not only reflects a governmental crisis but also an opposition crisis.

Comments by Others

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 6 Jan 86 p 66

[Text] Fathi Radwan:

The best response concerning the present debate of the subject of the National Front is to refrain from any comment because only silence is capable of causing the most recent call for the creation of a front to face amidst the present circumstances.

Fu'ad Siraj al-Din, leader of the New Wafd Party:

I have nothing to say now concerning the appeal for a front. I have already spoken about this subject in my speech, 23 August 1933, commemorating the anniversaries of two leaders: Sa'd Zaghlul and al-Nahas.

I can sum up my opinion by stating that the dangerous problems that the nation is facing eg., the political and economic crisis, housing, education, and public sector problems, inflation, and the sad state of public utilities, cannot be dealt with by one-party government which would be unable to provide a decisive cure for them for fear of party biddings and political maneuvers.

Khalid Muhyi al-Din, secretary general of the Progressive National Grouping Party:

We call for a front to abolish Sadat's policies and we do not feel that the extremist religious groups are the enemy against which the front should be established. Nevertheless, we do not refuse to participate in any front activity to achieve any objective that is agreed upon by all national democratic forces.

13223/12859
CSO: 4504/161

WAFD--MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD RELATIONSHIP DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 20 Mar 86 p 14

[Commentary by Jalal Kishk]

[Text] We have criticized the position of the security authorities concerning the Muslim Brotherhood in refusing to permit it to have a newspaper or even an aperiodic publication despite the fact that there are more than 20 aperiodic publications or letters for the communists and Nasirists, and those who agitate against Egypt to the extent that some Arab quarters excuse themselves for not accepting these publications of theirs because of their strong hostility toward Egypt! And they are printed in Egypt in the sight and hearing of the security organs, which have held political power since the days of the black military and al-Hamzah al-Basyuni. So you do not see anything that does not carry an Islamic label!

Today we are talking about attempts of the Brotherhood to have party status, or to have an independent political platform. However, the Brotherhood has not submitted an official request because they know that the general climate in Egypt does not favor the establishment of a political organization made up solely of Muslims or solely of Copts, even though Egypt has, thank God, been safe from the evil of unrest, and even though justice requires that we say that the Muslim Brotherhood movement, in its beginning and in its concept, was not sectarian, but its founder and his people had a sense of what had enabled them to form the constituent organization from both elements of the nation. However, after the decline that hit political activity in Egypt in the shadow of the July setback, it became necessary for us to block all gateways to sedition, even imaginary ones. Thereupon, the Muslim Brotherhood had no alternative but to operate under the umbrella of an existing, legal party. In this situation we could not find for them a better more welcoming, or more suitable umbrella than the Wafd. In any case this is not my suggestion, nor is it an ingenious idea, but it is the choice of the Brotherhood, made during the recent elections when 'Umar al-Talmasani, the supreme guide of the Brotherhood, met with the head of the Wafd, Fu'ad Sirj-al-Din. They talked about what had been happening, and the representative of the Muslim Brotherhood said, "Whatever the Wafd decides about our request in regard to being put on the Wafd's lists, I pledge to you that we will vote for the Wafd in these elections in all districts, because the Wafd has the best candidates."

This was a successful experiment within its limited circumstances and the conditions of the whole election, and it was possible for it to develop and become a turning point in political activity if we view it as a strategy for the whole period rather than merely as an election tactic.

What we now suggest is the return of the Wafd to the essence of its concept and the principles of its mission, which means the Democratic National Front, or something resembling the British Labor Party before it was torn to pieces by discord from the radical leftists and the blows of iron ladies. It had been like a front that includes blocs that are together organizationally but independent in viewpoint and the Wafd, too, when it was first formed 1919, contained every current of the nation, from the most prominent of individuals to communists. This was one of the ingredients of the success of the revolution led by it. In the years preceding its break-up in the July misfortunes, it included more than one group of people differing in their ideas and solutions, but agreeing that the umbrella of the Wafd was best for expressing their concepts and that the government of the Wafd was the solution nearest to common sense, allowing varied programs and solutions with dialogue, and thus granting the people freedom of choice.

Why don't we repeat the experiment? It is true that the political corruption that has controlled our country has made us forget the idea of coexistence. It is true that political blocs within the parties have forgotten the same thing and their sole interest has become the imposition of their will on the whole party or running it from behind the scenes with themselves as the heart of the leadership and control of the party. This is some of the revolutionary heritage and mental attitude planted by the Americans and the reckless revolutionaries. However, the experiment is due for an attempt, and the Wafd is worthy to attempt it. Concern increased with each victim of the July disaster and the future appears frightful for everyone who would keep our beloved Egypt from returning to the era which was described by its leader with his well-known statement, "The country with its arbitrariness is a gang." God has seen that he was its leader, and that he led us from the gang of 'Amir to the gang of 'Ali Sabri, Sha'rawi, Sharaf, and so on.

All the forces that want Egypt independent, democratic, flourishing, and at the center of leadership for the Arab and Islamic worlds are aware that Egypt needs the umbrella of the Wafd as a condition for holding on to its intellectual independence. Is this possible before much longer? Say, God willing.

12496/13045
CSO: 4504/276

CAPABILITIES OF LEADERS QUESTIONED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 20 Mar 86 p 14

[Commentary by Mustafa Shardi]

[Text] Our big problem is that we put little men, or men having simple capabilities, on big issues, some of which are as big as the hills, and some of which are as big as the mountains. The simple little men may try to approach the hill, but are not up to climbing it, and in the end we pay the price for the failed attempts. As for the mountains, these men do not venture to approach them at all!

Our real problem is that we set down certain types of ministers in other than their positions, or we seat them in chairs much larger than they are, so their legs don't reach the ground, and their heads are not visible in the backs of the offices. The result is that they spend their time enjoying sitting in the chair, and nothing else, while they shake their feet in our faces and over our interests, as well as over the piles of decisions stacked around them, some of which are sound, but many of which are not; the sound ones are not implemented, but the unsound ones distinguish the majority, many of which are quite bad and crooked.

Our basic problem, gentlemen, is that for years we have put al-Janzuri to confront a serious matter like planning, and we put sultan Abu 'Ali, despite his anger, in front of a complex matter like the economic problem. We put Naji Shatlah in the seat of the Ministry of Supply in order for him to solve its problems with a smile, and we keep Salah Hamid at the top of the Ministry of Finance. He is a clean-living, honorable man, but a routine, bureaucratic man to the extreme. We drive Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahab like a nail into the head of Egyptian industry, in order to him in turn, to drive nails on our behalf into industry's coffin. Examples of this are Dahmush and his assistants and other columns from industrial commands who do not sweat for Egypt, but for themselves.

It is conceivable, gentlemen, that Dr Yusuf Wali will continue to insist on ravaging the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Food Production while he is completely engrossed in political issues, partisan battles, and attempting to fight with al-Hadidi and others for control and for extending his influence over the National Party and the government? Concerning Dr Wali

personally, we are holding on to him as secretary of the National Party and do not accept anyone else as an alternative. During his fortunate political life his party suffered a succession of disasters and the opposition realized its greatest accomplishments in the streets of Egypt. In regard to agriculture, in the name of Egypt we demand that it be freed from his grip, or that it be rescued from him. He promised us an abundance of rice and fish and of inexpensive fruit and that he would solve Egypt's problems with the strawberry. Actually, there has been an increase in strawberries, but a kilo of rice has become a problem. We have expanded imports of fish, while we overlook two seas and our country has five lakes in addition to the Nile. We have expanded our imports of frozen poultry while we have hundreds of farms that are closed down, and we have destroyed millions of baby chicks at the airport. We have imported Damietta cheese from Denmark, and recently it was decided to import lentils from America. This is all thanks to the efforts of Dr Wali and his wise, intelligent policies. And even the seats of judgment, in which God has granted us a scarcity of qualified men, He willed, to our misfortune, that these men resign. Thus Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi prefers to leave and thus Ahmad Rushdi resigns, so that "Mr" Zaki Badr takes his place. Before Hilmi and Rushdi, a number of distinguished Egyptians left, men whom other countries call on to solve all kinds of problems and who sit at home in the shadows, because the limelight is reserved for al-Janzuri, Wali, al-Hadidi, Shatlah, Abu 'Ali, and al-Mahjub as they fight for the greatest share of limelight possible, aside from the fact that they are trampling the people and their interests in the struggle.

Egypt's problem, gentlemen, is that we are in the era of al-Mahjub as chairman of the People's Assembly, of Fawzi Ma'adh as governor of Alexandria, of Yusif Wali as secretary of the ruling party, and the era of al-Janzuri as planner of Egypt's present and future, and there is no power and no strength save in God.

12496/13045
CSO: 4504/276

GANG FALSIFYING PASSPORTS SENTENCED

Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 8 Apr 86 p 4

[Article: "Sentencing in Passport Falsification Case"]

[Text] In a news item in last Friday's issue, we noted the arrest of a gang engaged in falsifying passports after stealing them from their owners. Today we give further clarification about this gang. Squad Seven of the judicial police in the Governorate of Casablanca arrested five gang members, including two men and three women. The method of operation of this gang in falsifying passports may be summarized as follows:

One of the gang members steals passports from certain people. The original photograph is removed in a special manner and replaced by a photograph of the person wishing to obtain a passport illegally. After the passports are acquired, people cross borders with a false identity. The original photograph is removed with a razor blade, without scratching the paper. The seal is stamped on the photograph in another operation.

This gang is headed by 39-year-old Ahmed Khal Laayoun, a bachelor with no profession. He has been convicted previously of theft. He lives at the home of his accomplice in these operations, Melika Tougroum, a 32-year-old divorcee who has no profession. She lives in the old city and is known as "Bent Mennana." She too has already been convicted of theft and has been in jail previously in Agadir. The same is true of Melika's sister who was arrested in Safi for theft and prostitution.

The third woman connected with the gang is Rabha Sbihi, a 44-year-old divorcee who has six children and lives on Milan Road. She has been convicted previously of theft in buses. She used to have a passport, but it was withheld because she had committee fraud abroad.

Certain elements wanted to have Rabha join in their operations abroad and went to Halima Amane, a 47-year-old married woman with three sons. She lives in the old city. They offered her 2,000 dirhams in exchange for her passport, and she accepted.

A number of complaints reached the Seventh Judicial Police Commissariat from victims whose passports had been stolen. After a search and thorough examination of robbery suspects, the police succeeded in arresting the

gang's ringleader and brains Ahmed Khal Laayoun, plus Mokhtar Dekkaki, called "Kulaiyat," a 36-year-old bachelor who has already been arraigned 10 times on charges of theft and falsifying his identity. He was helping the ringleader of the gang. During their search, police found a woman's passport which had been stolen as well as the passport of Halima Amane.

At the home of the prime suspect, police confiscated 1,000 dirhams and the razor blade used in removing passport photos.

The gang was brought to justice. It appeared before the court of first instance which passed the following sentences:

Three years' imprisonment for the accused Khal Laayoun.

Two years' imprisonment for the accused Mokhtar Dekkaki.

As for the three women, the court sentenced each of them to 1 year in prison.

7811/9190
CSO: 4504/286

BRIEFS

WORLD BANK EDUCATION LOAN--The World Bank has decided to help Morocco modernize its educational system by offering it a loan of $150 million. The program to reform the educational system will stretch over 3 years and will provide for the construction and expansion of numerous elementary schools. The World Bank says that this reform program will give students equal opportunities and allow for coordination between the educational system and the requirements of the Moroccan economy. The news agency Agency France Presse noted that the total cost of the educational program is $1.83 billion. Of that amount, $1.67 billion will be financed by the Moroccan government. Prior to this latest loan, the World Bank had offered a $14 million loan to Morocco. This latest loan will be repaid over a period of 20 years at 8.5 percent annual interest with a grace period of 5 years. [Text] [Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 26 Mar p 1] 7811/9190

CSO: 4504/286

ARTICLES CONDEMN U.S. ATTACK ON LIBYA

Call for Muslim Solidarity

Tunis AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 4 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Rached Ghannouchi: "Islamic Tendency Movement: Aggression Is Threat to Entire Islamic Arab Nation"]

[Text] The American aggression against the Libyan coast, following American support for Zionist attacks against our lands, confirms, for anyone who had the slightest doubt, the true nature of this hegemonic, arrogant state which scorns the dignity of our nation. The aggression exposes its conceit which the majority of Arab regimes has met with disapproval, protest, and complaint. At the same time, some Arab States have confronted the aggression with shameful silence, suppressing the masses, and even displaying a thirst for revenge.

It is a great error for some people to imagine that the American insolence aims at Tripoli alone. On the contrary, it menaces the entire nation. The solidarity of Muslims, their allegiance to one another, and their faith in a common destiny makes it a duty for the Tunisian people and all Muslims to support the brother Libyan people, because of the bonds of kinship and religious ties among them. These are not weakened by the disparity of passing regimes and narrow considerations, and they confirm His saying: "The believers, in their friendly relations, their human understanding for one another and their mutual affection, are like one body. If one limb complains about it, the rest of the body breaks down in vigilance and defense."

On this basis the Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI) proclaims its unconditional solidarity with the Muslim Libyan people in defense of their diginity, the inviolability of their territory, its support of their resistance to American aggression, and rejection of America's feeble excuses. The MTI calls upon all parties and organizations and the rest of the masses to express this solidarity, because the danger is threatening everyone, and the enemy is one and the same. The enemy does not differentiate in its aggression among our peoples, no matter how much some people try to ingratiate themselves with it, submit to its hegemony, and characterize it as a friend.

The Sublime One said, "Do not trust those who are oppressors, or fire will consume you. You have no supporter or protector but God."

Progressive Socialist Grouping Statement

Tunis AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 4 Apr 86 p 6

[Article: "The Progressive Socialist Grouping Calls for Resistance to American Aggression"]

[Text] The United States of America has had the audacity to perpetrate a new act of aggression against the Libyan people and the Arab nation. It began by practicing obvious provocations and infringed upon the inviolability of Libyan waters. It went on to bomb both the land and defense installations in an attempt to terrorize the Libyan people and subject them to the will of America. The Progressive Socialist Grouping (RSP), faithful to its national and nationalist principles, condemns with the greatest severity the vicious American aggression against Libyan territory and the Libyan people. It considers this aggression a new incarnation of both the American imperialist will in imposing itself as policeman of the world and its hostility toward the Arab nation and all the people who cling to their sovereignty and struggle for their liberation. It renews its total solidarity with and support of the Libyan people in their stand of resistance to American aggression and arrogance.

This aggression, which comes as a new link in the series of hostile acts committed by the United States against our Arab nation, constitutes a new provocation and a new insult to our dignity. It occurs during a period which is witnessing the consolidation of relations of "friendship" between certain Arab regimes and the American enemy. They receive American leaders and American fleets, ignoring all the crimes and offenses they have committed and are committing against us.

The RSP calls upon all progressive nationalist forces to oppose the American aggression and support the Libyan people. It calls upon the government to take a clear and hard position condemning the aggression, working to improve relations with Libya, and solving minor differences through mutual understanding and a spirit of brotherhood. This is in the interest of the Tunisian and Libyan peoples and the Arab nation and is based on the struggle against Zionism and its protector, the United States of America.

7811/9190
CSO: 4504/286

LABOR UNION SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE ROLE, ACTIONS DESCRIBED

Political Leader on Solidarity Committee

Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 28 Mar 86 p 4

[Article: "Statement to AL-RA'Y by Mohamed Belhadj Amor on the Committee of Solidarity with the General Federation"]

[Text] Secretary general of the Popular Unity Movement (MUP) Mohamed Belhadj Amor made the following statement on the role of the Committee of Solidarity with the Tunisian General Federation of Labor (UGTT):

"This committee which is included in the joint action plan of responsible opposition parties and movements must make people understand its true nature.

"We will not take the place of the UGTT or any organization such as political parties on stage in the country. We are a political body with our own viewpoint of our country's past, present, and future. As for the defense of freedoms, today it is imperative for us to have our say and express our opinion on this crisis which the labor organization is experiencing.

"I believe that the escalation and continuation of the crisis will inevitably weaken the organization and sidetrack its role in defending workers' interests. As a political body in the country, we say that the higher interest of the country requires that the UGTT be a venerable, powerful, representative, democratic, and united organization at the heart of which all workers, no matter what their orientation and political sentiments, pursue sound trade union activity in thought and deed. Without this, the organization will lose its role and credibility and will deviate from its path. Perhaps workers will be forced to leave it and look for other frameworks in which to work.

"The Committee for Solidarity with the UGTT has met on the basis of this. This committee, composed of five parties and movements, has felt the necessity of intervening to contribute toward solving this crisis and defining immediate and future plans. Public opinion will be informed at the time of these interventions."

Solidarity Committee Meets

Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 28 Mar 86 p 4

[Article: "The Committee of Solidarity with the General Federation: Meeting at the Level of Opposition Leaders"]

[Text] The Committee for Solidarity with the UGTT met today, Wednesday, 19 March 1986 on the level of opposition party leaders to study the dangerous, offensive results of the fierce attack suffered by the UGTT. The attack was aimed at ruining the UGTT.

Those attending the meeting defined initiatives and steps to give concrete form to solidarity with the labor organization and expressed their support for all union activists who have been exposed to arbitrary actions and arrest. They reconfirmed their solidarity with Habib Achour, general secretary of the federation, and all imprisoned union activists and demanded their release.

Tunis, 19 March 1986
Signed:
Ahmed Mestiri, general secretary of the Movement of Socialist Democrats (MDS).

Rached Ghannouchi, head of the Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI).

Mohamed Harmel, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tunisia (PCT)
Mohamed Belhadj Amor, general secretary of the Popular Unity Party (PUP).

Nejib Chabbir, general secretary of the Progressive Socialist Grouping (RSP).

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TUNISIAN EMIGRANT WORKERS FEDERATION EXAMINED

Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 28 Mar 86 p 10

[Interview with Kamel Jendoubi, information officer of the Tunisian Emigrant Workers Federation: "Tunisian Associations in France"]

[Text] Beginning next 20 April, a seminar is being organized in Paris at the initiative of the Association of Tunisians in France and the Tunisian Emigrant Workers Federation. The topic will be "Tunisian emigrants and the dilemma of remaining or returning." These two social groups have emerged in recent years as bodies representing our emigrant workers and defending their rights. AL-RA'Y has contacted officials of the two groups in Paris and prepared the following study:

Tunisian Emigrant Workers Federation

This federation appeared in early 1974 under special circumstances characterized by the emergence of emigration as a militant force and the beginning of the economic crisis in France following the oil war of 1973.

Its appearance coincided with the Arab workers movement which began with the creation of a group of pan-Arab militants of different Arab nationalities

The federation considers itself to be an independent association. Its relations with French authorities have passed through two stages. Until 1981 these relations were suspended. Fierce struggles tarnished relations, and occasionally they ended with the threat of expulsion. These relations improved only after the Socialists came to power.

To give greater insight and understanding regarding the activities of the federation, AL-RA'Y contacted Information Officer Kamel Jendoubi and conducted the following interview with him:

[Question] Is there a historical factor behind the federation and the circumstances in which it was founded?

[Answer] The federation was founded in February 1974 with the main task of defending our emigrant workers. Then the idea developed of undertaking

joint activities with other associations which had the same goals. In 1977, the federation joined with emigrant workers associations linked by the Emigrant Workers' House. Our relations with the authorities were merely relations with the police who constantly hindered all our activities. These relations did not improve until 1981 when the federation entered a honeymoon period with the French authorities. We succeeded in making many gains such as enabling nearly 25,000 Tunisian emigrants to obtain immigration papers and settle their legal status.

Our relations with the authorities became strained after changes occurred in the policies of the left, and the right emerged, followed by racism, racial discrimination, and hatred of Arabs. In addition, there was the economic crisis and the spread of unemployment. To make matters worse, the resolutions of 1984 were issued in connection with combatting clandestine immigration, and measures were taken regarding entrance into France, gathering the family together, and the right to work and stay.

The federation did not remain with its hands tied in confronting this situation. It made contact with the authorities concerned and carried out intense campaigns to counteract this wave of hostility and rejection of foreigners.

[Question] How are the activities of the federation financed?

[Answer] Our activities finance themselves. In particular, there are cultural activities, the sale of posters, the newspaper AL-ITTIHAD, and cultural displays. The ascendancy of the left opened the way for government financing of the associations through the state Social Action Fund for emigrants.

[Question] How many members are there?

[Answer] Nearly 3,000.

[Question] What are the main goals of the federation?

[Answer] To unite emigrant workers, defend their material and spiritual interests, develop cultural activities, and preserve the emigrants' personality and identity.

[Question] How are your relations with the embassy?

[Answer] Our relations are suspended. We ask that the embassy be a kind of administrative agency dealing with all Tunisians on an equal footing in its capacity as the representative of the authority of our country.

[Question] Some people make the accusation against you that political objectives of intrigue motivate the federation, especially the activities which you undertake. Are they mostly to denounce the regime?

[Answer] There is a progressive nationalist feeling among workers in the federation, just as there is a great deal of sympathy for progressive,

democratic forces in Tunisia. We do not deny that in the beginning it was a framework for the activity of elements of the organization "al-Shu'lah" [The Flame]. The standing of the federation deteriorated in the late 1970's when there was an exaggerated politicization of its activities and greater interest in the situation in Tunisia than in the status of emigrants. This matter was settled at a general meeting held in October 1979. The main work was emigration. It alone remains the principal subject of our actions.

[Question] What have you offered Tunisian emigrants?

[Answer] Emigrants must have an organization in the framework of associations. It is in the nature of French society. This is especially true after associations became the fifth authority in France. They exert pressure and lobby on the social scene. This phenomenon emerged in the early 1970's.

Our interest in the federation is the issue of emigration which has begun to worry us. We estimate that a large percentage of emigrants will not return to their homeland. It is impossible for emigrants to succeed in defending their interests in the absence of a grouping. This has prompted the federation to try to unite Tunisian emigrants within the framework of associations.

We are now preparing a comprehensive study of the status of Tunisian emigrants. A seminar is being organized next April 19 and 20 on "returning from emigration." This question has been raised for 20 or 30 percent of Tunisian workers.

We regret the position of the embassy which has remained ignorant of the new state of affairs. Officials have expressed to us their desire for an improved situation soon.

It is worth pointing out that friendship societies are not concerned with the grave problems we are experiencing such as racism and the general status of emigrants.

The Tunisian Workers Grouping in France

The Tunisian Workers Grouping in France has been created at the initiative of the General Federation of Tunisian Workers (UGTT).

Basically, its ranks include Tunisian militants in French trade unions, the General Confederation of Labor, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, and the National Education Federation.

The grouping is headed by Ali Zaghloula, member of the executive bureau of the General Confederation of Labor. Among the activities of the grouping is its recent participation in creating another grouping for solidarity with the UGTT. It was established on 7 November 1985.

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SDAR MINISTER RECEIVED BY MACHEL, BILATERAL RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 13 Mar 86 p 1

[Text] Yesterday afternoon Monsour Omar, minister of foreign affairs of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR) arrived in Maputo bringing a message from President Abdelaziz to President Samora Machel.

Speaking to the news media shortly after arriving at the capital's airport, the chief of Saharan diplomacy said that "we firmly support the Front Line countries and wish to express our condemnation of the pressures and aggressions by which they are being victimized by the racist regime of South Africa.

"We believe that Africa as a whole and the international community should more firmly and positively support the Front Line countries inasmuch as they are making exemplary sacrifices in support of the freedom of man and respect for human rights in this part of Africa," Monsour Omar stressed in referring to his country's position on the current situation in southern Africa.

Explaining the raison d'etre of the SDAR's political position with regard to the problems of southern Africa, the Saharan diplomatic chief said that both his country and the southern African countries are attempting to cope with a country which through its action is shown to be a common enemy.

He went on to say that the Kingdom of Morocco and South Africa have cooperated militarily with South African advisers serving in the Rabat Army. At the same time, armaments manufactured in South Africa are being seized in Western Sahara from the Moroccan forces.

Again referring to the collaboration between the Moroccan and South African regimes, Monsour Omar denounced the support which Morocco is giving to the UNITA puppet group.

Speaking of the international equating of the Western Saharan problem, he said that the SDAR "has recently achieved considerable success on the diplomatic level" substantiated by the fact that Resolution 104 established by the Organization of African Unity is already being considered an international plan for peace in that territory.

In this respect he said that the United Nations endorsed that resolution last December, adapting it to the form of UN Resolution 50/40 for the solution of the Saharan question, a cause which also has the support of the Nonaligned Nations Movement.

With regard to the military aspect, he said that the war of attrition being waged by the SDAR forces is causing the Moroccan Army to be taken prisoner "in the trenches of the defensive walls without possibility of any maneuvers and ever awaiting death."

Responding to a question about the latest efforts toward the economic and political integration of the Maghreb countries, the Saharan diplomatic chief pointed out that previous attempts in that direction had failed because they did not correspond to the aspirations of the people in that area and he emphasized that "there is no Arab Maghreb without the participation of the SDAR."

He then said that any attempt at unification which ignores the causes of disunity--the conflict between Morocco and the SDAR--is an illusion. Monsour Omar has already been in Zambia and Zimbabwe, our country being the last stage of his journey.

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MILITARY CENSOR CALLED 'TOO LIBERAL'

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 11 Apr 86 (Weekend Supplement) pp 6-8, 32

[Article by Ya'aqov Erez: "What Raful Never Dreamed and Sharon Never Dared: Censorship by the Chief-Of-Staff"]

[Text] A covert struggle for the post of military censor is being waged within the defense system. The chief-of-staff, Gen Moshe Levy, wants to replace the chief censor, Lt Gen Yitzhaq Shani, who is too liberal for his taste, and a replacement has already been found. Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin vetoed the move, and for the time being, there is a "cease-fire" in force. Until further announcement, Shani continues to censor. This report, too.

Chief-of-Staff Gen Moshe Levy impresses people as a moderate and even-handed man. His manner of speech is frank and quiet, free of extreme pronouncements; he is unassuming and avoids the spotlights of the public relations machinery. But those traits are not always reflected in his deeds. Moshe Levy's critics claim that the manner in which he steers the army works conflicts with his quiet and moderate image, particularly with regard to several senior appointments. The apparently liberal chief-of-staff is currently in the process of initiating an appointment that may affect the freedom of the press, the public's right to information, and the working procedures of the media.

What Raful did not dream and Sharon perhaps dreamed, but did not dare to do, Moshe Levy is trying to carry out in his stubborn and uncompromising way. He wants to send the chief military censor, Lt Gen Yitzhaq Shani, packing and to appoint a senior intelligence officer to the job. Had Sharon (who during the Lebanon war stuck a "poison" label on the media) been in his place, there is no doubt that the Knesset would have become excited and the press been filled to the bursting point with critical articles. But in Levy's case, they act differently. He works quietly, without making waves or noise, and only one short item, burried in the inner pages of HA'ARETZ, revealed the intention of the chief-of-staff to replace the censor, who is too liberal for his tastes.

At first sight, the reason for the replacement seems to the point. The talk is of the length of time an officer remains in post and the sacred IDF principle

of rotation. All of a sudden this post is being considered as any other IDF job. This is perhaps not as that of company commander, who is replaced at short intervals, sometimes too short, but rather as the professional officers in the IDF technical and manpower branches.

At first glance it indeed appears that Lieutenant General Shani has served a long time as chief censor--9 years. However, previous chiefs-of-staff, like Yitzhaq Rabin, Hayim Bar-Lev, and the late David El'azar, believed that in this position long service is an advantage, not a drawback. The longer the term, the greater the skills and experience acquired, and the smaller the margin of error in making decisions. Consequently, they extended the service of the chief censor at their time, Lt Gen Walter Braun, to the maximum. Braun had retained his post at the head of the military censorship for 25 consecutive years and retired at the age of 68.

One of the former chiefs of military intelligence, whose professional reputation is flawless, says: "It is silly to replace the censor only on the grounds of length of service in the job. The opposite is the thing to do." Consequently, it appears that the too-long-in-office reason is only claimed as a cover for the real motive. Moshe Levy apparently does not understand the media world. Perhaps the chief-of-staff thinks that he can tighten his control over the information published on IDF subjects through censorship, provided he appoints the right censor. The least one can say is that he has not always shown expertise in the area of press relations.

The chief-of-staff is very unhappy about what has been published about the forthcoming appointment of generals. There are power struggles at the top of the defense system, as is only normal in times such as this. Moshe Levy promised various jobs to various officers. Later, that changed. Despite the censorship's efforts to prevent publication, things were aired that were not always flattering to the chief-of-staff. The criticism that followed such publications also displeased him, and he was affected, even if the state security was not. By the way, similar cases had occurred under his predecessors, too. During Mota Gur's time, too, the censorship tried to prevent prior publication of expected general staff appointments. But when the news was published, the chief-of-staff was not personally hurt.

General Levy's sensitivity is perhaps understandable. His position, after Lebanon, is not easy. The trauma of the last war has seeped through all the ranks, and in a way it can be compared to the Vietnam syndrome in America. The wounds of Lebanon have not yet grown scar tissue, although in 2 months time it will be 4 years since the beginning of the "Peace for Galilee" campaign. In addition, the IDF is suffering unprecedented financial straits. The cuts are causing controversy, discussions, and surprises. Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin does not always impose his will in areas concerning army work. His critics says he does it too seldom.

In the matter of Lt Gen Yitzhaq Shani, Rabin did interfere. Authorized sources in his office say that the chief-of-staff meant to replace the chief censor 2 months ago, but the defense minister prevented that, and did so legally. According to the law, the appointment of the chief censor, even if it concerns an officer at the rank of lieutenant general, has to be approved by the

defense minister. On his side, the chief-of-staff grants him an additional appointment for commanding officer of the military censorship. Thus, it would seem that we can expect a "cease-fire" in the coming few months. In the meantime, editors and newsmen were amazed to hear that the chief-of-staff intends to implement the principle of rotation regarding the chief censor, ignoring, perhaps, the great sensitivity of this post.

HA'ARETZ military commentator Ze'ev Schiff, who has been closely following the defense apparatus for 20 years, says: "The chief censor is one of the three IDF jobs to which officers should be appointed for more than purely military considerations, because the post exceeds the strictly military domain. The other two are the chief-of-staff and the head of intelligence. To a certain extent, the censor determines the democratic image of the State of Israel and the freedom of expression. Consequently, I would have expected the appointment of the chief censor to be jointly decided by the prime minister and defense minister, with the endorsement of the entire cabinet.

"However, I must stress that Israeli censorship is professional and open to exchanges of ideas. The censorship has greatly altered its attitudes. One may say, despite the apparent paradox, that this is a very liberal and considerate censorship; it is considerate of the free press and the freedom of expression, without thereby affecting state security. All this could not have been possible had not the censorship been led by people like Shani. We do have our differences, but the overall relationship with the chief censor has never been as open, fruitful, and considerate as during his term."

Ze'ev Schiff is not alone in his views. In the 12 years in which I was MA'ARIV's military correspondent I more than once had differences and arguments with the chief censor, but Lieutenant General Shani always remained guided by material points and the principle of state security. As a result of the prevailing atmosphere of mutual trust, military correspondents have been themselves calling the attention of the censor to sensitive items so as to eliminate obstacles. The censor has not been merely preventing breaches of security by correspondents, but has been the principal security factor.

American journalists, with whom I discussed the nature of Israeli censorship, had difficulties accepting this reality. According to their yardsticks, the mission of the journalist is primarily to obtain exclusive information, or the sought-after scoop. In the United States there is no security problem and national responsibility is, at times, more important than professional achievement. From their point of view, censorship and liberalism are a contradiction in terms. Yitzhaq Shani has to a great extent bestowed peaceful coexistence between these two conflicting concepts upon a leading group of military correspondents. Not through arbitrary prohibition or official complaints to the "Commission of Three" (see box interview) about items published in violation of his instructions, but through the logic and professionalism on which he has based the relations with press editors and journalists. The chief censor often managed to neutralize the professional frustration of military correspondents when the latter were not allowed to publish some hot item in their possession, even when they were convinced that publication of the item could not harm state security, and might even contribute to it.

During the Lebanon war the chief censor was caught in a crossfire of pressures. The media did not flatter Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon or Chief-of-Staff Rafa'el Eytan. Lieutenant General Shani had one head-on conflict with General Eytan. However, Raful, who at the beginning of his career viewed the press as another target for war, in the course of time learned to find the golden mean in his relations to a large number of media people, without thereby becoming insensitive to the requirements of censorship. This week Raful commented about Shani: "During the Lebanon war I relied a good deal on his experience and judgment, and I took much of his advice. I think he was a very good and experienced censor. I did not know any another censor before him so I had no means of comparison. I used to consult him on matters of public interest. As far as I remember, the censorship had problems primarily with political leaks in which it was not allowed to intervene. But in anythinig concerning military matters he had a perfect record."

In contrast to Raful, Sharon may have tried to impose his authority in the wake of publications that displeased him, but members of his former office state that "the censor was independent, and Sharon did not interfere." They add that if the former defense minister had complaints, they were not against the censor, but against journalists and against those who gave them the information. The fact remains that during the Lebanon war the press was allowed to publish prior information, such as the IDF's intention to occupy West Beirut. The intentions were aired, and Sharon neither dismissed the censor nor curtailed his authority.

Lieutenant General Shani, 49, was commanding officer of a company in the Golani brigade when he was seriously wounded in both his legs during the Sinai campaign during a regimental assault on an Egyptian fortification in the Rafiah area. His armored car ran over a mine at the edge of the fortification. After 1 year of recovery he was transferred to the main adjutancy and won a degree in political sciences and international relations from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Since August 1967 he has been serving in the military censorship--first as commanding officer of the censorship base in Tel Aviv, and later as deputy chief censor. In July 1977 Ezer Weizmann, who was the defense minister at the time, appointed him chief censor. Yitzhaq Shani is married to a school teacher and has one daughter in the university and one son in the army. He has invested his body and soul in the work of the censorship. After the Jonathan mission at Entebbe he collapsed with exhaustion and had to be hospitalized for a short while. The chief of operations at the time, Yanosh Ben-Gal, also required similar medical treatment during those days.

The censorship work does not focus only on allowing or prohibiting the material submitted to its attention. The work process requires thorough consultations with various IDF factors involved. At times the consultation process is lengthy and delays the decisionmaking. The censorship is usually not arbitrary and its decisions are based on its statute regulations. Yitzhaq Shani grew up in it and matured into his senior position. General (res) Shelomo Gazit, who was chief of intelligence in 1977, recommended his appointment as chief censor to the defence minister and chief-of-staff. Gazit, currently director of the Jewish Agency, said this week: "When Walter Braun left the job some people thought the system would collapse, deprived of his

long and rich experience. But Yitzhaq Shani proved that he is a man with a sound head on his shoulders and a great sense of responsibility and devotion, and that he can do the job successfully."

The president of the press committee, Dr. Yehoshua Rotenstreich, who has been involved with the censorship since 1949 as head of the "Commission of Three," which rules on censorship complaints against journalists who violate its instructions and journalists' appeals against censorship decisions, says: "I do not know whether one should praise a man to his face, but Yitzhaq Shani is an objective chief censor. He does his job in the best possible way, without unnecessary conflicts. The best censorship is that which is not felt. Yitzhaq Shani, who worked with Walter Braun, continued in this tradition, in which he not only succeeded, but to which he also greatly contributed. The relations between the censorship and the press are extremely delicate, and its decisions affect not only our democratic life, but also our image abroad. Consequently, nothing is as valuable for this job as experience. Only a person with a good judgement and great experience in all the secrets of press editing can stand at the head of such an institution. The connection between these traits, good judgment and experience, is very important in this area. One also needs a good sense of diplomacy. The process of filling this position does not resemble any other in the IDF. Here one cannot apply the principle of make a decision and get on to the next thing."

The problem is, however, that Gen Moshe Levy treats this position as any other military position. That, at least, is the logical conclusion arising from the fact that the chief-of-staff did not consult any experienced and knowledgeable people outside the military establishment before deciding to replace the chief censor. No one consulted Dr Rotenstreich or the most experienced among the Israeli press editors. A replacement was chosen, better suited to the position in the opinion of the chief-of-staff, and Yitzhaq Shani was told that his term would not be extended. In the meantime, the defense minister intervened and the reshuffle was frozen, although it is not clear for how long.

I asked the chief-of-staff for his reaction. I asked him why the chief censor should be replaced and whether he does not think, therefore, that a man with greater experience can contribute more to the work of censorship.

The IDF spokesman's reply: "The chief-of-staff does not hold public debates on army gradings."

[box on page 7]

Censorship Is No Beauty Parlor

[Question] What governs the censorship work?

Lt Gen Yitzhaq Shani: "The main objective of censorship is to protect the security of the State of Israel against harm stemming from published material. At the same time, the censorship in the State of Israel cannot ignore the norms imposed on it by the agreement between the Committee of Daily Press Editors and the IDF general staff as representative of the government. This agreement deals with matters pertaining to the fact that we are a democratic

state in which there is freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom to air views, and freedom to criticize, as long as publications do not contain defense information harmful to our security. This is the framework within which the censorship works, and it is open to the monitoring and supervision of all press editors. On the one hand, the determining factor is the security policy; on the other side, editors may appeal censorship decisions before the Commission of Three, headed by Dr. Rotenstreich, the president of the Press Council. Consequently, according to the law, the judgment of the censorship must be as logical and considerate as possible concerning all the data and circumstances of the material whose publication is submitted to its decision. And this is what the censorship does: examines, gathers data, consults, and adopts decisions in keeping with the security policy of the State of Israel."

[Question] Who appoints the chief censor?

[Answer] "According to the law, the chief censor is appointed by the defense minister, while the chief-of-staff appoints him as commanding officer of the military unit in charge of censorship. In fact, there are two appointments here."

[Question] As a censor who has worked together with Defense Ministers Shim'on Peres, Ezer Weizmann, Menahem Begin, Ari'el Sharon, Moshe Arens, and Yitzhaq Rabin, has your work been influenced by the manner in which each one of the defense ministers implemented the security policy?

[Answer] "State security is always state security, and press freedom and the right of the public to be informed are always the same. Israel is a genuine democracy and will always be one. Therefore, when you, as a censor, work according to the unchanging principles of defending security, on the one hand, and not harming the press on the other, you can persuade, if necessary, all the policy makers in accordance with the circumstances of your decision."

[Question] Sharon, too?

[Answer] "Sharon, too!"

[Question] I was referring to the Sharon who during the Lebanon war spoke of the press as "poison" for having printed personal attacks on him by soldiers and commanding officers, such as the poem "Airplane, Come Down To Us," and criticism by commanding officers not to enter West Beirut. Did he not try to fight the press through the censorship?

[Answer] "During the Peace for Galilee war, censorship was guided by its judgement, just as it did before that war and after it. Whoever thinks that censorship can change reality in the State of Israel is wrong, and assumes impossible accomplishments. Censorship could not and does not want to paint reality in artificial colors."

[Question] What was the relationship between Sharon and censorship?

[Answer] "The television program which aired the song 'Airplane Come Down to Us,' whether it was staged or not, something I still do not know, was approved by me. At the time I thought that although it was not pleasant, it could not harm Israeli security. But censorship is not guided by criteria of 'pleasant or unpleasant,' but by the criterion: does it or does it not affect state security."

[Question] And how was it, working with Sharon?

[Answer] "You must ask him that. I do not intend to talk about all the defense ministers and chiefs-of-staff with whom I have worked."

[Question] Were there attempts to curtail your position and prerogatives while Sharon was defense minister and Raful chief-of-staff?

[Answer] "The work of the censor is not strewn with roses. At times pressure of one kind or another are brought to bear on the censor in a bid to influence his decision. In some cases the censor is persuaded by the logic of the argument, while in others he is not and he makes his decision according to his authority, the circumstances, and his understanding of the matter."

[Question] Have there ever been attempts in the past to remove the censor from his position?

[Answer] "As far as I know, no."

[Question] You were speaking about the agreements between the Editors' Council and the chief-of-staff, from which the censorship derives its prerogatives. What are these agreements?

[Answer] "The first agreement was signed in 1949, the second in 1951, and the third in 1966. No new agreement has been signed since then. Each new agreement meant further erosion of the prerogatives of censorship and another step toward the press. Then there have been 17 instances in which the court added amendments. I want to say that since July 1982 and until today only eight claims have been filed, and we must remember that that includes the Lebanon war period. This shows that there is understanding between censorship and the press in accordance with the spirit of the agreement."

[box on page 8]

A Personal Story

My story concerning Censor Yitzhaq Shani involves a sad, even traumatic, memory. On the eve of the Yom Kippur war Shani, was commander of the censorship base in Tel Aviv. As the military writer for MA'ARIV, between Rosh HaShana and Yom Kippur I sent in five items, all dealing with the military steps taken by the Egyptians and Syrians. On the eve of Rosh HaShana I was on the Golan Heights and heard about the massive Syrian deployment. Some 48 hours before Yom Kippur I was in Refidim, where I saw the commander of the armored

forces in the Sinai, the late Gen Albert Mandler, who personally told me about the extensive fortification work carried out by the Egyptians. All that time I tried to publish some of the information I heard from IDF officers. Most of the material was rejected, including what I wrote for the Friday issue, which was the eve of Yom Kippur 1973. Only one paragraph appeared in the paper the day before the war.

In the years since then, Yitzhaq Shani and I have had many talks on the duty of the journalist in times such as that, when the general staff is bound by the concept governing its actions, and the censorship works according to instructions dictated in the name of state security. When I interviewed him this week for the present article, I asked the chief censor if censorship prohibitions do not sometimes impair the country's warning system, as indeed it happened in the case of the Yom Kippur war.

Yitzhaq Shani: "There may be something in what you say, concerning warning. However, revealing intelligence information which the IDF has on what is happening on the other side may, God forbid, expose intelligence sources. All things considered, this is a strong enough reason not to permit the publication of the respective item, even if it already is in the hands of a journalist."

These things are not relevant as far as the Egyptian preparations for the Yom Kippur war went. The fortification work, the ramps, and the troop build-up could be seen with the naked eye from the Israeli bank of the Suez canal, without any special intelligence information...

Shani: "We are all wiser in the wake of that war. We have all gained more experience. Your items,too, were checked by the censorship working apparatus with the intelligence community, and only after that was the decision taken not to allow publication so as not to harm information sources. But the fact is that none of the press editors who had such material complained to the Commission of Three before the war about the censorship decision. And another fact is that on the same Friday before Yom Kippur the censorship allowed MA'ARIV to carry a short item about the state of alert in the Egyptian army, but the editor chose to print the information in a small box in the middle of the first page, and not under a big title."

Is it possible that the prohibition stemmed from the belief that the chances of war were slim, a belief to which the intelligence, the chief-of-staff, and others subscribed?

Shani: "I do not believe that the ban came because of that belief. I was not the chief censor at the time and did not participate in the clarifications carried out in the wake of the item. But I am not trying to evade my responsibility. In those circumstances, the censorship believed that it was doing the right thing and what it had to do."

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THEFT OF WEAPONS FROM IDF DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 14 Apr 86 p 14

[Article by Hayim Revia: "Weapons Trickling Out of the IDF"]

[Text] "The Israeli Police are currently preparing an extensive report on the IDF weapons and sabotage material that found their way to the Israeli underworld. The report will be forwarded in about 1 month to the general staff and the army leadership will be requested to draw the relevant conclusions. It has been learned that the police report contains sharp criticism concerning negligence at several military bases behind the frontlines in the area of guarding and protecting their weaponry and ammunition stores."

The above information appeared in HA'ARETZ in July 1978. Has anything changed since then? The IDF is more aware of the problem, but that does not stop the stealing; at the most it lowers somewhat its incidence. Every once in a while there is a commotion--underground people dismantling explosives from mine field penetration systems, a Bat Yam child being wounded in the explosion of a "LAW" rocket--but then things quiet down again, until the next explosion. To the public, weapon stealing is like the weather: very interesting to write and read about it, but what can anyone do against it?

What is the IDF doing?

The army, according to official IDF sources, has put the problem of arms stealing at the top of its priority list. Efforts are aimed at three areas: physical protection of arms and ammunition stores, investigation of thefts by the military police, the Shin Bet, and the Israeli police, and propaganda and deterence.

Reports of arms thefts are immediately brought to the attention of the chief-of-staff, his deputy, and the chief of operations. The operations branch writes periodic reports on arms stealing and preventive measures.

Aside from the military police investigation, thefts are also subjected to

command investigations, with a view to bringing disciplinary suits against those found responsible for command, rather than criminal violations. Thus, for example, the Northern District general, Uri Or, was instructed to release an officer of lieutenant colonel rank who had been in command of a base from which some 170 hand grenades had been stolen. A few weeks ago, an IDF security inspection uncovered shortcomings in the guarding of arms and ammunition at a southern base. The district general ordered a trial against the base commanding officer.

A report aired on television a few weeks ago shook the IDF. Correspondent Eytan Oren and a television team managed to enter a base in the north through a broken fence. In the wake of the rpeort, a special security fence inspection was carried out in the Northern District; the fence of the respective base was immediately repaired.

What do security inspections accomplish? First, those are surprise inspections. The order of the inspection is initiated at a far lower level. The inspection is designed to check guard duty routines at the base and how open ammunition stores--such as the ones that Oren presented in his report--and locked ones are made safe.

In recent years the IDF has changed some of the guard duty regulations. Thus, for example, after it was proven that hand grenades are particularly attractive to thiefs, it was decided that they should not be stored openly. The supervision of hand grenade manufacturing series was particularly bolstered, so that when a hand grenade is found it is now possible to determine from what base it was stolen.

Military courts tend to hand down very stiff sentences on arms theft. Prison sentences often call for 8 and or even more years imprisonment, depending, of course, on the circumstances of the case, such as the number of weapons stolen and to whom they were sold. The courts have been passing heavy sentences for years, not just recently.

How Much Is Stolen

At a press conference held in 1979 the former chief of military police, Maj Gen Baruch Arbel, revealed that in the same year some 570 weapons had been lost or stolen from the IDF. At the beginning of the 1980's there was a drop in numbers, but the downtrend was reversed by 1983-84. At that time, the IDF officially reported the loss or theft of some 400 weapons, out of which 250 were recovered. In the same year the army passed 63 indictments for arms theft or loss. In 1985-86 the drop in arms losses was even lower than at the beginning of the 1980's. This drop is attributed to the measures taken by the IDF to safeguard weapons and correct shortcomings in the area. Since April 1980 and until February 1986 some 2,000 weapons were lost or stolen in the IDF. More than half that number was recovered.

Aside from Tanks, They Steal Everything

Spring, 1978. Two IDF deserters, who were caught in a Tel Aviv apartment, stole 33 Uzi submachine guns. The weapons were sold to Arabs in the village

of Qalansuwa for 775 Israeli pounds apiece. The guns were then resold for use at tribal feasts and disputes, and some of them found their way to Israeli criminals.

Ashqelon, 1979. Twenty hand grenades, 40 sabotage devices, four rockets with launchers, hand guns, and submachine guns are seized. Some of the weapons had been sold in Gaza, and some were found in a cache near Kefar Silver.

December 1979. A Jewish-Arab network--made up of 43 people, 13 of them active soldiers--dealt in selling stolen weapons to Arab villagers in the Wadi 'Ara area. Some 22 Uzi submachine guns, Karl Gustav submachine guns, hand guns, and hand grenades were seized. Three of the soldiers were sentenced to 3, 7, and 10 years imprisonment.

May 1980. An IDF captain and an enlisted man were arrested after stockpiling weapons and ammunition on the roof of the Kotel Yeshiva. Some 100 kg of explosive charges, dozens of hand grenades, delay cords, and automatic explosive devices and weapons were seized.

June 1980. Six 17-year old boys were arrested after stealing explosives and sabotage material from an ammunition bunker. The bunker was located in an open field an on IDF base close to Bet Sefarim.

September 1984. An IDF soldier stole two M-16 and five Galil rifle and one Uzi from a base in the North. The weapons were sold to Arabs.

October 1984. The arms cache of the TNT gang that was used to attack churches and religious establishments in the Jerusalem area was uncovered. The cache contained three "LAW" anti-tank rockets, eight hand grenades, and one Kalashnikov.

January 1985. The police uncovered an Arab-Jewish gang that dealt in stealing weapons from army bases. The gang had 16 members--ten Jews, two of them enlisted soldiers, and six Arabs from Kafr Kanna. Their caches yielded a large number of stolen Uzis and hand grenades.

February 1985. A soldier who had stolen six M-16 guns from a base in the South, which ended up in Gaza, was sentenced to 8 years in prison. A civil defense man involved in the affair was also given 8 years, a Gaza inhabitant 5 years, and a bedouin who served as intermediary, 3 1/2 years imprisonment.

May 1985. Two soldiers who stole 20 hand guns and sold them to criminals and members of the minority population belonging to sabotage organizations, were sentenced to 9 years imprisonment each. The guns had been stolen from a crate in the supply tent of an air force base in which one of the two served as a supply man. The two received drugs and money for the guns.

October 1985. Military equipment worth hundreds of thousands of dollars was stolen by a soldier who had been released from the army on psychological grounds. The equipment was concealed in a cave in the Jerusalem mountains; thousands of bullets, explosives, hand grenades, sabotage devices, an operations crate, a parachute, military clothing, nightscope, maps marked as

"classified," two manuals, and other items were found. Officers described the find as a "complete bunker."

February 1986. A Bat Yam inhabitant (24), is suspected of stealing a "LAW" anti-tank rocket during his service in the IDF and hiding it on the roof of his house. Two children were injured while playing with the rocket, which went off. One of the children lost a leg.

February 1986. Six children, ages 9-14, admitted to stealing sabotage materiel from a base in the South. Their cache revealed two ammunition cases containing demolition blocks, explosives, a delay cord, explosive charges, and hundreds of bullets.

April 1986. The police reported the arrest of 53 people suspected of stealing weapons in recent months. Among the suspects were three enlisted men and one other Jew, while the others were Arabs from villages in the Nazarat area. Some 205 hand grenades, nine handguns, two Galil rifles, Kalashnikovs, six M-16s, and Uzis were found.

Who Steals

The majority of the enlisted men accused of stealing weapons from the IDF come from poor neighborhoods and areas. Only a few of them are high school graduates. Some had had disciplinary problems even before the thefts. Arie Shar'avi, an attorney with the Military Court of Appeals, divides weapon thieves into two major groups: a minority who serve in combat units: "One cannot say that they lack national awareness," he says. And he defines the second group next to them: "They have a low stimulus threshold and they are immature."
Shar'avi says that those belonging to combat units steal under the pressure and influence of their home environment. Criminals from that environment use blackmail and temptation methods against them, which do not necessarily have to do with money. Family ties serve as a means of pressure, and threats as means of persuasion. "As a result, the soldier, although aware of the prohibition, steals military weapons."

In the past Shar'avi defended a company sergeant-major from the Giv'ati Brigade who was accused of stealing demolition blocks from the army. The sergeant had been assigned to educate a delinquent from his neighborhood and to bring him to the strait and narrow path. A real friendship developed between the two. One day the delinquent asked his mentor for a "favor"--a demolition block. The sergeant-major did not refuse. Later he even participated in an attempt to bomb the mini-market of Gedera.

The "unstable" among the soldiers are characterized by two types of motivation: some steal in order to finance drug purchases, especially hard drugs, and others are in financial trouble. Nevertheless, none of them steal because they are hungry.

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ASPECTS OF ISRAELI UNDERWORLD REVEALED

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 11 Apr 86 pp 21-23

[Article by Yossi Heimann: "Account Settling in Jaffa"]

[Text] Miko Levia, who until last week had been the king of Jaffa's underworld, had seen many explosions in his life. In the 1970's he used to fish with explosives, and he became known as a violent and dangerous criminal. He belonged to the Bat-Yam gang led by Nissim Lavi, and carried out a string of armed robberies. Later he began to deal in drugs, and in recent years also traded in used cars and cheap clothing.

Levia, was 40 when he died, was married with two children, and had won great respect from his associates. His appearance was quiet and serene, but everyone knew just how dangerous he was. After consolidating his leading position, he served as a mediator and judge for the underworld. He numbered among his friends some of the biggest criminal figures, such as Shema'ia Angel, Gad ("Shetz") Plom, the murdered Amos Mesika, Avrum HaDayag, Miha ("Pepe") Rockstein, and Nissim Lavi.

Levia's apartment, on the second floor of an Arab house in Jaffa, served as a meeting place for these friends. The house belongs to the Muslim poor house of Jaffa, but Levia managed to take it over in the course of time and the poor house people were powerless to get him out. He also took over the roof adjoining his apartment, from where he could oversee the surrounding streets and spot any approaching detective. The building has only one entrance, something that made it even more difficult for the police to take him by surprise. The underworld people exploited these strategic advantages. In cases of conflict, Levia would conduct the investigation in his living room, as chairman of the court. His decisions were final and accepted by all. The living room is huge with its ceiling covered by an enormous painting. The antique-style furniture was given to Levia by the merchants of the neighboring flea market. On one side stands a large bar made of heavy wood, built as a glass-enclosed aquarium and filled with rocks and plants. The kitchen runs along one wall of the living room and is equipped with the most modern appliances. A large urn stands in the corner to ensure a continuous supply of coffee for the many visitors. The police knew that heavy gambling was taking place in the apartment from time to time, but no gambler was ever caught there red handed.

An Explosive under the Seat

Levia was murdered the day he came out of jail. He had been sentenced to 5 years in prison for bringing in 1/2 kg of heroin, which was found in a refrigerator shipped from France. Last Thursday, after having served 3 1/2 years and having been given a third of his sentence off for good behavior, he left the prison and came to his home. In the afternoon he descended into the street and went to his golden Audi 100. A few seconds after he had gotten into the car, an explosion was heard. A booby-trapped explosive had been placed under the driver's seat during the night, while the car was parked near his house across from the police station in the Kikar HaSha'on. Levia was killed instantly. The brothers Hasan and Na'im Kahil were arrested on suspicion of murder.

The explosion which killed Miko Levia once again brought to the surface the power struggles and rivalries of the Jaffa underworld. In 1980, as a consequence of the same power stsruggles, Jaffa was shaken by a string of violent explosions. For 6 months after March of the same year private cars became death traps for Jaffa's criminals. Many of them took to using cabs, and only in September 1980 did the police identify the gang responsible for the explosions. By the time they were arrested, the gang members managed to stage 14 murders, attempted murders, and plans to commit murder. Hasan Kahil, one of the gang leaders, testified at the trial against his associates and escaped punishment. Among other things it was revealed at the time that one of the murder candidates was Miko Levia. There had been several failed attempts to blow him up. The police investigators suspected that Hasan (34) and Na'im (28) Kahil finished the job last week which had failed 6 years previously.

The Brothers Shanir Take Their Revenge on Shulman

The first explosion occurred, curiously enough, in the Afeka neighborhood, in north Tel Aviv. On the morning of 3 December 1979 David Shulman left his villa on 5 Haim Street, a few houses away from the home of Shlomo Lahat, the mayor of Tel Aviv. Entering his Opel he triggered off an explosive charge hidden inside it, and was killed. Shulman was not a criminal, but a prosperous and successful businessman owning the Mars House furniture factory on Giv'at Herzl, in Jaffa. In the neighborhood of the factory were the houses of members of the Muslim family Shanir which were built around an inner court and surrounded by a protective wall. One of the brothers, Muhammad Shanir, the leader of the explosives gang, was sentenced to only 12 years for his deeds, because the prosecution could not prove in court all the crimes attributed to him. Between the Shanir family and David Shulman there had been an old land dispute going back all the way to the absentee law passed after the establishment of the State. During the War of Independence, one of the Shanir brothers had run away and was subsequently declared an "absentee." According to the law, the state confiscated his land, a fact with which the family never became reconciled. For years they tried to regain the land through legal action. Their attorney was Professor David Liba'i, currently a Knesset member, who was convinced that an injustice had been done to the family. When Shulman purchased the confiscated land from the state and built the Mars House on it, he became the enemy in the eyes of the family and a symbol of the authorities.

The conflict sharpened later, when Shulman decided to erect an additional building. The contractor who put up the building was Betzalel Mizrahi. Several sabotage incidents occurred on the spot in the course of the construction work. The anger of the family members mounted when they found out that Shulman had sold part of the land to the Discount Bank at a healthy profit. They claimed that he was getting rich at the expense of land stolen from them.

Shulman was only one of the troubles of the Shanir family. A few months before he was blown up, on a night in August 1979, unidentified persons broke into the family courtyard in Jaffa. They entered the bedroom of the head of the family, 'Ali Shanir, and beat him and his wife, Latifa, with axes about the head. 'Ali was fatally wounded and died shortly thereafter. Latifa, who was pregnant at the time, was badly injured and was left with an infirmity. The murderers did not stop there. They went from room to room and wounded the four children of the couple--aged 7, 5, 4, and 2--with their axes. The children were seriously injured and two of them suffered brain damage. That inhuman massacre has not been cleared to this day. Police investigators conducted inquiries in various directions, which took them as far as Jaljulyia in the Triangle, where relatives of the Shanir family live. Between the families there raged a violent dispute about the division of some other land--a dispute that in 1965 claimed the life of land broker Sharif Shanti. At the time the four Shanir brothers were arrested under suspicion of the murder, but were released for lack of evidence. Shanti's killers were also never discovered. The police also investigated the possibility that the massacre in the Shanir household came as a result of disputes among Jaffa criminals, but no evidence was found. The rage of the Shanir brothers came close to madness. They refused to believe that the police wanted or could find the murderers. It seems that they themselves did not know whom to suspect, so they suspected everyone. The outcome was a string of explosions in Jaffa. Muhammad Shanir, the leader of the explosives gang, hoped that the authors of the massacre were among the criminals killed.

Hajji Kahil Under Fire

The Kahil family, also Muslims, lives in another area of Jaffa, Giv'at Aliya. The head of the family has collaborated with the Jews even before the establishment of the state; as a result, the family had everything it needed and even amassed a good deal of property. The oldest son, Muhammad Hajji Kahil, wanted more. He became the biggest drug dealer in Jaffa and acquired status in the Israeli underworld. Among his friends he counted Yehezkel Aslan from Shekhunat HaTiqwa and his associate Pinkhas ("Goldie") Goldstein, who were caught in the affair of the cocaine connection at the Ramada Hotel in Tel Aviv. Aslan, one of the "list of 11 leaders of organized crime," had consolidated his domination over Shekhunat HaTiqwa and its vicinity and considered Hajji Kahil as an ally. But Hajji Kahil did not enjoy the benefits of this alliance for long. Some 7 years ago he was killed at the door of his family's nut store in Jaffa, which today bears his name. A burst of machine gun fire was aimed at him from a car. The killers also tossed a hand grenade at him, but it did not explode. The killing came as no surprise, as it had been preceeded by two other attempts to kill Hajji: the first time, his bedroom was blown up while he was away, and the second, his car was booby-trapped in the Atarim Square in Tel Aviv, while he was in the Peacocks

nightclub belonging to Goldie and Aslan. That time Hajji suffered a hand injury.

The Hajji had long been feuding with Jewish criminals in Jaffa over the drug market in the area. The police received information that this was the background for his killing. Five criminals were accused of the murder at the regional court of which the most prominent among them were the brothers Amram and Carlos Adari. Another Adari brother, Yehuda (Spaniol), was blown up in his car, but it is still not clear whether he was killed or had an accident. Spaniol was known as a sabotage expert. The Adari brothers were Miko Levia's brothers-in-law.

An unexpected incident occurred during the trial. Former police informer, Salomon Mashrawwi, sent a letter to the judges claiming that the Adari brothers and the others did not kill Hajji Kahil and that the evidence against them had been fabricated. Mashrawwi was summoned to testify at the trial, and following his testimony the accused were released on doubt. Mashrawwi's testimony caused a rift between him and the police, and also enraged the Kahil family to which Mashrawwi is related.

But Mashrawwi was not high on their list of priorities. First and foremost, the Kahil family wanted to avenge the death of their eldest brother. Hasan Kahil took the execution upon himself. It was only natural that he and Muhammad Shanir, who was seeking to avenge the massacre in his family, should coooperate. Their first victim was Yo'av Sina, who was blown up in his BMW on 19 March 1980 on Etrog Street in Jaffa and lost both legs as a result. Others, attacked in the same manner after him, were killed. Among them were the criminalsd Moshe Doshi, and Amnon Raz, who was killed together with his wife. The last explosion occurred in September 1980, and the car bombed was the yellow Audi 100 belonging to Yosef ("Abu Tom") Lev, which was parked close to his home on 128 Kerem St in Jaffa. Abu Tom, himself an explosives expert, was fatally injured and died of his wounds in the hospital. The explosives gang was caught after his killing, with the help of Salomon Mashrawwi.

Muhammad Turk, one of the gang members, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Another member, Bassam Mahajina, managed to escape from the detention cell in Giv'atayim, and went across the border to Egypt. Two Jaffa soldiers, who supplied the gang with explosives and hand grenades stolen from the IDF, were also given prison sentences. Muhammad Shanir is still serving his sentence.

Levia Escaped A Bombing

After the gang was exposed it turned out that Hasan Kahil had also placed a bomb under Miko Levia's car while parked by his home in Jaffa. The date on which the explosive was laid is not known, but it was after the killing of Yo'av Sina. As is it, it failed to go off, and Levia drove around for months with the explosive charge stuck to the underside of his car. Eventually it dropped off, and the police found it on the road. For months the police could not figure out where it had come from, and it was only when the gang members were arrested and questioned that the mystery was solved. It emerged that Hasan Kahil suspected Miko Levia on having been behind his brother Hajji's murder, and that is why he tried to kill him. That was not the first attempt

to kill Miko. His car had been booby-trapped before, but after he had sold it to somebody else. The explosive charge was detected and dismantled.

Upon their arrest last week, the Kahil brothers denied any connection to the killing of Miko Levia, and even had an alibi. Aside from the old information gathered in the course of the investigation of the explosives gang, the police had no other evidence against them, and on Tuesday this week they were released. The detention of the Kahil brothers was only one of the avenues of the investigation. The police also received information according to which Levia's killers had been sent over from Shekhunat HaTiqwa, which is the territory of another big underworld figure. The investigators suspect that the timing of the killing, on the day Levia came out of jail, was not coincidental and they are checking into the possibility that his killing was part of the power struggles in the drug market designed to prevent him from regaining his kingdom in Jaffa. But there may be other reasons for his murder, too, such as the dispute around a nightclub in Jaffa belonging to a well-known underworld figure. Another conflict had broken out at the time of Levia's arrest. He had blamed his sentence on another Jaffa criminal, and the rumor was that Levia had demanded damages from his family.

If You Catch Me, More Power To You

Miko Levia had won the respect of the police, too. Detective Eli Dadon, currently a private investigator, knew him well. "Levia," he says, "was a big criminal, but also a man of honor. His word was sacred, and he never dirtied his hands. He used to say to us: 'If you can catch me red-handed, more power to you; if not, that is your problem.'" Dadon did once catch Levia red-handed, together with Shema'ya Angel, Shatz Plom, and Amos Mesika, next to an arms and drugs cache in Kfar Shalem. They were brought to trial at the Tel Aviv district court and released on doubt. Judge Hadassa Ben-'Ito determined at the time that the police detectives could not have seen what they claimed they had seen from their observation point.

"Sibni" Testified and Was Murdered

It was to be expected that the termination of an underworld figure of Levia's stature would prompt a wave of revenge incidents from his friends. However, criminals of his type have been disappearing from the country's crime map. Most of them are either in prison, have been liquidated, or have retired. Now there is a new type of criminal, who is loyal only to drugs and for whom considerations of honor or revenge are secondary. They are not prepared to take chances and are afraid of complications. "Shema'ya Angel made a lot of noise and he ate it," it is said in the underworld. Today they prefer to keep a low profile and not to make waves. Consequently, it is doubtful whether any war will break out in the underworld in the wake of the murder.

The fact that Hasan Kahil, who had testified against the explosives gang, was arrested for Levia's murder, is another indication of the bankruptcy of the underworld laws. Until a few years ago, anybody who testified for the prosecution, betraying his friends, was a dead man. That is what happened to prosecution witness Nissim ("Sibni") Cohen, who was killed on 1 July 1976 when he lifted the lid of the garbage can in front of his parents' house in Bat

Yam. An explosive charge hidden in the garbage can blew up and killed him. Exactly 7 years prior to that, Shatz Plom, Asher Floman, and Shelomo Mann had been accused of two armed robberies on banks in Tel Aviv. Sibni, their associate, was instrumental in sending them up for long prison terms. At the trial, in Judge Zeltner's court, Shatz jumped on Sibni and tried to stab him with a home-made two-pronged pole. After the trial, the police sent Sibni abroad. The long arm of the Israeli underworld caught up with him in Copenhagen where there was an attempt on his life. He was seriously injured, and after recovering, he returned secretly to Israel. Three months later he was liquidated.

Ya'ir ("Kuni Lemmel") Levin, 16, testified against Eytan Hiya, his accomplice in the murder of Amnon Hadad on 27 October 1970. Hiya was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. Kuni Lemmel was killed 2 years later, being shot through the mouth with an Uzi submachine gun--the mouth that turned Hiya in.

Yefet Nagar, underworld figure and owner of several Petah Tiqva discoteques, dared to complain and testify against Ya'aqov Alfron, one of the highest ranking underworld bosses. Nagar was killed about 10 years ago in the Shata jail. His killers did not shrink back from the consequences. Some of them were sentenced to life imprisonment, but the chief perpetrator, Ya'aqov Alfron, was released on lack of evidence.

Prosecution witness Uri Wolf, the son of a Zahala physician, testified against Herzl Avitan and others at the trial of the armed robbery of a Leumi Bank branch in Ramat Aviv, which had occurred on 3 May 1979. In the course of the robbery shots were fired and hand grenades tossed at policemen. The accused, who were convicted on the basis of Wolf's testimony, were given long prison sentences. After the trial, the police sent Wolf abroad. He was given a considerable amount of money and a new identity so that he could build a new life somewhere else, because in Israel his life was clearly not worth a cent. Nothing has been heard of him since.

Yeshurun Testified And Is Walking Around Free

In contrast to Wolf and his predecessors, today's prosecution witnesses are not afraid to resume normal life. The most salient example of this new reality is the conviction of Shema'ya Angel for the murder of Michel Nahmias. Angel was sentenced to life imprisonment, while the prosecution witnesses who testified against him, Yisra'el Yeshurun and Nahum ("Mando") Klimon, are walking around freely. Yeshurun has been reaccepted in the criminals' society, and many members of the underworld even justify his action. Angel once said that a criminal who allows a prosecution witness to make it to the witness stand and to testify against him, is crazy. As emerged at the trial, that was the reason he killed Nahmias: to ensure that the police does not catch him and turn him into a prosecution witness. That is also the reason that some of the underworld justified Yeshurun, who was Nahmias's close friend. They claimed that Angel should have given Nahmias a chance to prove that he would not turn state witness. Shema'ya's appeal is still pending in the Supreme Court.

After testifying against his associates in the explosives gang, Hasan Kahil returned to live in Jaffa and to work with the criminals in his area. In 1982, he was arrested together with his ex-enemy and former police informer, Salomon Mashrawwi, on suspicion of having thrown hand grenades at Jaffa criminal 'Abdallah Jibali. They were indicted for several attempts to kill Jibali. Their accomplice in the attempts, Muhammad Ayish, testified against them. Hasan Kahil was found innocent at the trial. Mashrawwi was given a prison sentence, which he completed a few months ago. Jibali himself cooperated with the police in obtaining Mashrawwi's sentence. This is how the roles have been reversed. Criminals, assuming the role of prosecution witnesses and police informers, turned against the cat; 'Abdallah Jibali ran to the police to complain.

A similar story was repeated last week. If Miko Levia could hear that prosecution witness Kahil was arrested on suspicion of his murder, he would undoubtedly turn in his grave.

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NEW LABOR PARTY LEADERSHIP SAID MODEL OF OLD

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 10 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by Uzi Binyamin: "The Apples and the Tree"]

[Text] One cannot help marveling about the Labor Party's new generation: how they do not rebel against their fathers' tradition, how they tread in their foosteps without any thought or protest, without learning any lessons, and without any desire or intention to renew or change.

The Labor Party lost the government in 1977 because it had become so sullied that the public rejected it. Basically, the nation had had enough of the solutions Labor had to offer and of the image of owning the state which it radiated throughout the public. Toward 1977 Labor appeared as a political entity with such strongly private interests that anything thought to benefit the nation or public interest was viewed as secondary. That was why the public removed the Labor Party from power. The party leaders perceived their mistake too late: as it happened, they themselves had caused the break between the party and the nation by not listening to the heartbeat and the troubles of the people.

That being the case, it is all the more amazing to see how the new generation of the Labor Party continues to march unhesitatingly in the old paths. People who are currently important in the party leadership--such as Uzi Bar'am, Ya'aqov Tzur, Moshe Shahal, and Mota Gur--are no different from their predecessors. They, too, put the party above everything, and consider the interests of the state or of the broad public as strictly secondary.

Narrow Interests

Take for example Ya'aqov Tzur, the MAPAI model of Zevulun Hammer. A delightful person, at first sight: born in a kibbutz, he radiates integrity, is modest, and takes care to preserve his good reputation. But listen to what he says; he has no compunction about lecturing and exercising pressure toward breaking the rotation agreement. In the past he warned that he would not sit in a cabinet led by Yitzhaq Shamir. For the past 6 months or so he has been indirectly advocating the dissolution of the national unity government, claiming that the reasons that brought about its establishment no longer exist. And it does not even occur to him that he is contributing to violating an important public

rule, which says that agreements must be kept. He does not sense that his position embodies the very attitude of putting narrow party interests above national needs.

Or take his friend, Uzi Bar'am. One would have expected this man to have learned from the mistakes made by his father, who was a typical representative of MAPAI's narrow attitude. But, no: like father, like son. Uzi Bar'am does not in the least mind being at the center of the group working to nullify the rotation agreement. He is at the center of the party front that pushes to dismantle the government for the avowed reason that it is good for the party. In recent weeks Uzi Bar'am has also been remorselessly waging a sharp party struggle to maneuver Labor activists into senior positions that bring considerable benefits in government enterprises and corporations.

And the same goes for Mota Gur. Between the jacuzzi in Teverya and a tremendous public relations campaign designed to pour money into the Kupat Holim [public health system] coffers, the health minister appears in the media and without batting an eyelid calls for dismantling the national unity cabinet. He, too, like his colleagues, does not stop to consider the long-term consequences that breaking the agreement would have on public life. What is important to him is the good of the party, even if--for the sake of his public relations campaign--he identifies the good of the party with the interests of the people.

The last on this haphazard list is Moshe Shahal. Like his other three colleagues, he has held his senior position for only 1 and 1/2 years, but, also like them, he very quickly adopted the mannerisms of authority (just as an example: his car was caught doing 138.5 km/hour) and took his cabinet membership as his natural due. For unclear reasons, Moshe Shahal has become a sort of lackey for Prime Minister Shim'on Peres. He is the ideologue and legal support of the trend to violate the rotation agreement (he made a speech in the Knesset in which he determined that it is possible to claim that the agreement is not valid because Yitzhaq Shamir is no longer what he used to be before the Likud convention).

The superiority and self-confidence manifested by the leaders of the new generation of the Labor Party will yet cost them, as it did their predecessors. One can venture to guess that the narrow party interest--which currently motivates their actions--is what will be hurt on election day. The people are not dumb, nor are they likely to forget this behavior. The broad public senses the insincerity of their maneuvers, and just as it turned away from the moral corruption of the first generation, so it may well take its revenge on its followers who have learned nothing and have forgotten nothing of what they learned from the previous generation of politicians.

12782
CSO:4423/107

OUTSIDE FINANCING URGED FOR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 26 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by 'Isam Sa'id Salim: "The Development Plan ... And Sources Of Financing"]

[Text] It is true that we have a 5-year economic and social development plan on which work began at the beginneng of the current year, 1986. It is the fourth plan in our programmed development work.

It is well known that this plan needs financing to cover the projects in it, and that the potentials of our country are meager and limitcd, and are not even reaching the minimum of our aspirations.

Therefore, the government has effected a revolution to search for sources to finance this project, and has introduced a large number of regulations, laws, and ordinances which, by their nature, provide everything that is needed to organize a new life for our people with freedom and independent national sovereignty.

Clearly, all of our plans, the projects contained in them, and the role to be played by each of the sectors have been established, as well as the share that may be taken by one or another sector in the work of building and the changes to which we aspire. Adequate bases have been laid for these sectors to play their role fully in a clear framework protected by effective laws and regulations.

An investment law has been promulgated to attract foreign national capital in a special form for participation in its turn in the building phase in its capacity as one of the sources for the financing which we need to implement the plan.

During our previous plans, due to our experience, we saw clearly a weakening of participation of national capital in the development plans, in spite of our perception of the desire of this sector to participate and share in implementing some mixed projects with the government or some projects independent of it.

Here, one must stop to ask a one-word question: why?

We might not need much effort to answer. That is not where the obstacle is. The law is clear and the projects are clear and defined ... the state sector that there are some who do not want shares of national capital, because they have wanted us to look for related sources of financing which set down conditions that do not rob us or decrease our national sovereignty or assure failure of the experiment and the deeply-rooted satisfactions whose light our country follows in its independent path. Further, there are those who have tried to throw all of the weight and burden on the shoulders of friends in the socialist countries, in the vanguard of which is the Soviet Union, as if they want to annoy them by our dependence on them in all things, small and large.

Here the destructive policy which has been pursued for the sake of agreement with other policies in various areas to make it flow into one thin stream becomes clear, except that it is dragging the country, which our people have sacrificed to improve in order to rescue it and liberate it from its bonds for nearly 20 years, under the wheel of the train. This is the train which brought us to the tails of the imperialism which is the chief enemy of peoples longing for national sovereignty and freedom from dependency.

If, on our way, we have passed by this question--on the path of the noble--about the role which the relevant agencies played in the investment law -- for example -- and representation in our embassies abroad and, of all things, the commercial attaches in them, and in the relevant departments in the ministry of commerce and supply and the ministry of industry (previously), we will notice that it is not up to the desired and suitable level.

They -- that is, these agencies -- are not able to attract national capital; they do not undertake to explain this law and its simplification; they are not able to cultivate trust in the regulations and the law; and they do not respond to the request for national capital inside and outside the country, in spite of the clarity of the law and the plans.

It is the same thing--or just about the same thing--that enables us to give free rein to the committees which were formed in this respect.

Now, we have a new inclination wanting, because of it, to correct all of the odd situations which have been left undecided in the beginning of a new plan. It is necessary to take this question seriously, particularly given the impediments and difficulties in defining them and, consequently, the work of redressing and going beyond them.

This is a large national task which sits before us at the present time. We call for everyone's participation in building our new life, which needs the prompt participation of the relevant agencies, particularly since we know the situation of foreign national capital abroad and its need and our need for investments inside the country to implement the plans and projects contained in the third development plan.

What do you think ... are we able to supply whatever is suitable to implement the decrees, regulations, and laws and of striving to realize development and

progress for our country and our masses, particularly? Our party and the government of the revolution are offering every aid and support to whomever works to do that.

We hope, anticipate, and trust.

12780
CSO: 4404/302

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SETS FISH, DAIRY SUBSIDIES

Aden 14 UKTUBUR in Arabic 2 Apr 86 p 1

[Article: "The Council of Ministers Decides Fish and Dairy Subsidies To Maintain Stability of Supply at Its Regular Meeting"]

[Text] The council of ministers held its regular meeting yesterday morning under the chairmanship of comrade Dr Yasin Sa'id Nu'man, a member of the politbureau and chairman of the council.

The council attended in this meeting to the issues on the agenda, which included the draft of a formal regulatory decree for the ministries and central and municipal agencies. It was discussed thoroughly and a decision was made concerning it.

Also, a number of issues were discussed concerning subsidies for edible fish and fresh milk in order to increase their production and maintain stability in supply and price for the citizens.

The council of ministers decided to continue to offer subsidies from funds parallel to prices for the year 1986 for each ton of fish produced locally, according to its grade and type, so as to equalize the difference between the cost of production and the sale price of the product, and to offer the subsidy to the General Organization for Fishing in the amount of 250 dinars per ton for first quality fish, 220 dinars per ton for second quality fish, and 100 dinars per ton for third quality fish. They decided to include subsidies for each ton of marine products exported abroad in order to equalize the difference between the cost of production and the export price.

To encourage and develop the raising of cows and to increase the production of fresh milk, the council of ministers will offer payments in the amount of 126 dinars for each ton of fresh milk for production. This is the difference between the purchase price paid by the General Organization for Dairy Products and the price calculated on the basis of the cost to the farmer of the production of milk, provided that a comprehensive study be prepared on the issue of raising cows and a way to develop this.

Further, the council of ministers made a decision concerning setting up a national committee to search and drill for water and to provide guidance for utilization of its sources, it confirmed an ordinance to reorganize the local government administration, and it discussed a number of other issues.

12780
CSO: 4404/302

REPORT ON PIPELINE PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION BY SAUDI

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 23 Apr 86 p 4

[Article; "Yemen Receives a Pipeline Project in the Framework of the Saudi-Yemeni Coordination Council"]

[Text] Yesterday in the city of al-Hudaydah in the Yemen Arab Republic a pipeline project was delivered to the government of Yemen. The project was implemented in the framework of brotherly cooperation which has been built between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen Arab Republic by means of the Saudi-Yemeni Coordination Council. Its cost was 5,154,616 Saudi riyals.

Engineer Muhammad al-Musa, the director of the Saudi projects office in Yemen, described it saying that the 6-inch diameter pipeline is 1,275 meters long, 850 meters of which run under water.

Engineer al-Musa added that the pipeline is intended to carry aviation fuel from the new marine anchorage in the port of al-Hudaydah to the storage depot on land. He pointed out that the project was implemented in 6 months.

He explained that the pipeline project, which was delivered to Yemeni officials yesterday by a representative of Petromin and a representative from the Saudi projects office in Yemen is related to the basic projects, including depots for aviation fuel "JP-4," implemented last year and financed by the Saudi government at a cost of 16,511,222 Saudi riyals.

The director of the Saudi projects office in Yemen added that during the design and implementation of the pipeline he was mindful of high quality, weather-proofing, handling the salinity of the sea, and corrosion resistance.

12780
CSO: 4404/302

MUJAHIDIN REPORTEDLY RECAPTURE STRONGHOLD

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 26 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Apr. 25 (AP) — The Mujahideen returned Friday to positions in southeastern Afghanistan overrun by Soviet and Afghan forces. The Mujahideen said they had reoccupied a major stronghold lost earlier in the week.

Commanders from several Mujahideen groups reported that Soviet and Afghan forces had moved back after heavy fighting that raged across strategic Paktia Province off and on for the past three weeks.

The Afghan Information Center, an independent group based in the Pakistani border city of Peshawar that monitors events inside Afghanistan, said reports from Paktia indicated Soviet and Afghan Army forces had moved back from the Pakistani border after destroying Mujahideen strongholds. Soviet and Afghan troops were regrouping around the main government-held town of Khost, the center said.

Center director Prof. Sayed Majrooh alleged the Soviets had withdrawn after inflicting major losses on the Mujahideen and capturing and destroying large amounts of weapons and supplies in positions overrun in the fighting.

"They have suffered very heavy losses and very heavy damage," he alleged.

Mujahideen commanders said fighting was continuing around Zhawar and their forces were still being bombed by Soviet and Afghan SU-22 jet bombers and MiG-21 and MiG-23 fighter-bombers. Commanders who witnessed the Paktia fighting said the bombing was the worst they had seen during the seven-year war with waves of 20 and more warplanes attacking at a time.

Zhawar Recaptured

Meanwhile the Yunis Khalis group said Friday that its fighters were again in control of its main base at Zhawar, which was overrun by Soviet and Afghan commandos earlier in the week.

The base, the largest of its kind, was a major training and supply center and was strongly defended by tanks, artillery and anti-aircraft cannon.

Soviet forces had destroyed the base and its equipment, but Mujahideen commanders said it could be repaired and restored to service.

The Afghan Information Center said the Mujahideen did again appear to be operating around Zhawar following the Soviet pullback.

Afghanistan's communist radio continued to claim over Radio Kabul that its forces had inflicted a massive defeat on the Mujahideen and killed many of them in the Paktia fighting.

Mujahideen commanders have admitted to losses of about 150 dead and another 300 wounded in the fighting around Zhawar.

Large numbers of Soviet and Afghan troops were killed, the Mujahideen said, but they gave no specific figures.

The Mujahideen are fighting to oust the communist government of Afghanistan, which is supported by an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops.

The government rarely allows Western reporters into the country and reports from inside the country cannot be checked independently.

/12851
CSO: 4600/314

BRIEFS

DISTRICT GOVERNOR'S OFFICE ATTACKED--ZAHEDAN, Sistan-Baluchestan Prov. (IRNA)--An Afghan state military official was killed and 20 government forces were taken captive by Afghan Muslim Mujahideen in an attack on Kashk-Kohneh district governor's office in Herat Province early last week. Informed Afghan sources said here that during the attack the district governor fled the building and it is now under the control of the Afghan Mujahideen. In this operation the Muslim Mujahideen also seized 17 weapons and two machine guns from the state forces. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 26 Apr 86 p 5] /12851

CSO: 4600/314

PATRIOT POLITICAL DESK ON CAMPAIGN AGAINST GANDHI

Denial From President's Office

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Apr 86 p 1

[Text]

On Saturday 26 April, an analysis published by this paper carried the following paragraph:

"The trail of this campaign (against the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues) invariably leads to Rashtrapati Bhawan. That Giani Zail Singh is unhappy is no longer a carefully guarded state secret. Of late, several mediamen, Indian as well as foreign, were received by the President and his aides. These meetings were followed by juicy stories on the lines mentioned above. Obviously, Giani Zail Singh is no longer as discreet as he used to be. The criticism being hurled against the Prime Minister and some others is being freely attributed to the briefs given by him. Such indiscretion by the holder of the highest office is all the more unfortunate when a section of the press is displaying unconcealed wrath at the raids on some leading tycoons."

Late in the evening on 26 April, the Editor of *Patriot* received a letter from Rashtrapati Bhawan and passed it on to the political desk for publication and comments, if any. Following is the text of the letter which bears the signature of Mr K Suryanarayana, Press Secretary to the President.

"Dear Editor,

I write to invite your attention to today's front page 'Analysis' titled "Behind Kamlapati Tripathi's agony" in your esteemed daily, wherein in para 4, the name and office of the President of India have been dragged without any basis at all. The insinuations made there against the President are not only unethical but totally baseless. The President has never given any press interviews. The President has always been praising the Government. He has no ill-will towards the Prime Minister and enjoys excellent and cordial relations with him. The writer of the story seems to be misinformed.

Kindly issue contradiction.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- K Suryanarayana

Though President Giani Zail Singh was not in the Capital on Sunday, it is fair to assume that the letter has been sent after clearance from him and that the Press Secretary has merely discharged his official duty by appending his signature.

Patriot political desk would have, in normal circumstances, avoided joining issue with the President if the letter had not lectured us on ethical grounds. This desk, therefore, wishes to share with the readers a part of the facts in its possession and leave it to the readers to judge.

On 1 April, 1986, President Giani Zail Singh had a long meeting with Mr Pritish Nandy, editor of Illustrated Weekly of India.

In its issue dated 20-26 April, the Illustrated Weekly published a long piece under the title "Rajiv's India: Has the dream really faded". The article began with the following observations:

"It had to happen. And it did. For it was too good to be true. In less than a year and a half, Rajiv Gandhi appears to have lost a lot of ground in the popularity ratings. Even within those constituencies where he was such a hot favourite. . . . The dynamic young leader, who was once the brightest star on the political firmament, is now seen as a blundering myth-maker who failed to live up to his initial promise."

Earlier, in its issue dated 6-12 April, the same weekly carried a cover story: "The Congress-I — Cracking up". This contained the following comment by Mr Pranab Mukherjee: "The indiscriminate disciplinary steps against Indira loyalists might have no alternative but to go in for a showdown. The Congress-I is nobody's zamindari."

Rashtrapati's Press Secretary has said that the President has never given any press interview. But this is denying something which was never stated in the analysis. The point we made was that the President's meetings with certain mediamen were followed by critical pieces against the Prime Minister and his close associates. This fact has not been denied. It is incontrovertible.

Patriot political desk has information about a series of meetings President Zail Singh had with several mediamen, generally separately and only rarely in group, on 2, 8, 9, 12, 17 and 18 April. These meetings appear

to have been an occasion of detailed political briefing. Only the credulous will accept it as sheer coincidence that each of these briefings were followed by intensification of the campaign against the Prime Minister and his close associates and a sudden larger-than-life publicity for men like Mr Pranab Mukherjee who claim to represent the so-called dissidents.

It is relevant to enquire what transpired in Giani Zail Singh's meeting with the BBC's correspondent Mark Tully on 17 April. Will, in any other country, the Head of State meet a foreign correspondent based in his country unless it is for giving a formal interview on an important occasion?

Not only mediamen, but even others who have met the President recently recite tales of Gianiji's bitter comments about the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues. Some of the so-called dissidents claim they have his blessings. That is why the analysis by this desk said that the campaign against the Prime Minister and some others is being freely attributed to the briefs given by Giani Zail Singh and it appears he has become less discreet than he used to be.

To conclude, on the basis of facts and other circumstantial evidence the contradiction made on behalf of the President is untenable. The unethical cap very clearly fits someone in Rashtrapati Bhawan.

Text of Referent Article

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Pandit Kamlapati Tripathi's agony over the "deterioration" within the Congress has attracted countrywide attention. The loyalty of this grand old man of the party has always been unquestioned. He has received extraordinary consideration from Rajiv Gandhi who retained him as working president. He ignored the critics who ridiculed the decision because of Panditji's age and health. In fact, Panditji was overwhelmed at Rajiv Gandhi's graciousness when his controversial daughter-in-law, Mrs Chandra Tripathi, was made the Congress candidate in the last Lok Sabha elections. Though he knew of Indiraji's disapproval of Bahuji's several activities, Rajiv Gandhi showed his respect for the veteran leader by giving her the Congress ticket from Chandausi. This deeply and visibly moved Panditji. Why, then did he feel so incensed as to write a letter which has been interpreted as a signal of a crisis in the party?

The immediate provocation appears to be his grievance that party vice-president Arjun Singh has not extended to him the courtesy that is due to Pandit Kamlapati Tripathi. Leaders of Panditji's advanced age and status are naturally sensitive in such matters. With a little care Mr Arjun Singh could easily have spared him this feeling of hurt. However, there is another side of the picture. Some frustrated Congressmen, who have no hope of getting back into positions of power, are taking advantage of Panditji's present state of mind to further their own selfish interests. Mr P V Narasimha Rao had such people in mind when he said that Pandit Kamlapati Tripathi should not be misled by persons whose record was not very clean.

Mr A P Sharma, who has come into limelight in the present controversy, was dropped from the Union Council of Ministers because of serious complaints about his handling of the affairs of the ITDC and Air India. He was accused of ordering a total cadre review in Air India with a view to benefit his son. Mr Sharma did not enjoy his tenure as Governor of West Bengal and desperately pleaded for a seat in the Rajya Sabha on the grounds of ill-health. Those who agreed to accommodate Mr Sharma out of consideration of loyalty should have known that men like him

would forget the pre-condition that no position in the party or the Government would be given to him.

Mr A P Sharma is spearheading the present tirade in the company of Mr Prakash Mehrotra, who entered the Rajya Sabha because he enjoyed the support of UP's sugar lobby. His removal from the post of India's High Commissioner in London could not but

make him extremely unhappy. But the Prime Minister could not keep quiet when his son was involved in charges of shoplifting. In fact, Mr Mehrotra's ineptitude had cause the Centre considerable embarrassment at the time of the infamous Nellie massacre. He was then Governor of Assam and failed to prevent the carnage though the Government had enough advance information to merit firm action.

Scores of other "Congressmen," including a few with criminal record in Uttar Pradesh, have descended on Delhi—definitely not by coincidence. They are unnerved at the prospect of losing political clout if they are eased out of their present positions in the Congress organisational elections. For the last several weeks a stream of such persons was sent to Pandit Kamlapati Tripathi to cry on his shoulders as a part of the plan to play on his emotions.

There is another dimension to the sudden intensification of the campaign against the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues. The campaign is carefully orchestrated and runs along the following lines both in the press and in the ranks of the party; that the Prime Minister is inept and weak, that Arun Nehru is waiting in the wings to take over when Rajiv Gandhi fails, that either Arun Nehru is good and Arjun Singh is bad or that Arjun Singh is good and Arun Nehru is obnoxious, that either Arun Nehru is not pulling on well with Arjun Singh or vice versa.

The trail of this campaign invariably leads to Rashtrapati Bhavan. That Giani Zail Singh is unhappy is no longer a carefully guarded state secret. Of late, several media men, Indian as well as foreign, were received by the President and his aides. These meetings were followed by juicy stories on the lines mentioned above. Obviously, Giani Zail Singh is no longer as discreet as he used to be. The criticism being hurled against the Prime Minister and some others is being freely attributed to the briefs given by him. Such indiscretion by the holder of the highest office is all the more unfortunate when a section of the press is displaying unconcealed wrath at the raids on some leading tycoons.

To a considerable extent, the present tensions in the Congress could have been averted if factional squabbles in the states were handled with greater circumspection. Bihar is an eloquent example where the actions taken by the state leadership against Dr Jagannath Mishra are not only patently vindictive, but also counter-productive.

Factional quarrels are an integral part of the life and activities in the Congress since the day it came into being. Factionalism can never be eliminated, it can be contained and regulated. The Prime Minister as the supreme leader of the party has to act as the final court of appeal. No one should be allowed to use his name for factional purposes. It is the responsibility of others to act as shock absorbers and ensure that his name is not dragged in intra-party squabbles. Unfortunately, this has not happened and the State leaders continue to give the impression that their shortsighted factional vindictiveness has clearance from Delhi. Failure to curb this tendency has done great harm.

To some extent, dissatisfaction has also been caused by inadequate communication and lack of access to central leaders. The pressure to get the Prime Minister's attention is enormous and if the present system of management of his time is not improved, it will be difficult to cope with these pressures even if he puts, as he is doing now, 20 hours or more of work every day.

It is a wholesome principle to allow a person, once appointed to a post, freedom of action and give him a long rope till he proves himself worthy of the responsibility or hangs himself with it. However, handling of intra-party problems within the Congress does not lend itself to such cut and dry methods.

/12828
CSO: 4600/1711

PAPERS REPORT DECLARATION OF 'KHALISTAN' INDEPENDENCE

Panthic Committee's Declaration

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Apr 86 p 1

[Text]

AMRITSAR, April 29.

THE five-member panthic committee, supporting the Kahlon faction of the All-India Sikh Students' Federation, today announced the formation of 'Khalistan' and said a parallel government would be announced soon.

The committee, consisting of Bhai Dhanna Singh, Bhai Gurdev Singh, Bhai Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, Bhai Aroor Singh and Bhai Wasan Singh, was appointed by the January 26 'sarbat khalsa' convened by extremists.

The formation of a parallel government would be in fulfilment of the daily prayer, "Raj Karega Khalsa", as conceived by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699 on Baisakhi day when he formed the khalsa panth. This was later reaffirmed by the late Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, they said.

The committee, which includes three wanted extremists, handed over to pressmen a ten-page typed statement to this effect.

Replying to questions, the members said that Delhi would be the headquarters of "Khalistan" and their flag would fly over the Red Fort.

They had not yet drawn up the boundaries of the state, but the 'Khalistan cabinet', including the 'prime minister' and 'president', would be announced soon.

The group, which has virtually been in control of the Golden Temple complex since January 26, said that Sikhism would be the state religion of "Khalistan".

However, members of other faiths, including Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis, would have equal status under the fundamental rights of its constitution, to be framed later.

They said that the foundation of "Khalistan" was laid at the "sarbat khalsa" on January 26, 1986.

The khalsa panth would soon seek formal recognition by all other countries, particularly U.S., U.K., Pakistan, China, Canada, West Germany, Warsaw pact countries, France, Japan, Sri Lanka, Burma, Nepal, Bangladesh, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel and Ecuador, besides other members of the U.N.

It would seek "recognition from India, too" and also strive for economic and military aid from some of the friendly countries.

The panthic committee meeting warned the opponents of "Khalistan" that their "misdeeds" would not be overlooked. It used the expression, "sudhai kiti javegi," meaning that they would not be spared.

It also directed all Sikhs lodged in jails to remain firm in their goal and said committee would remove their difficulties.

The declaration also said that the committee had no intention of causing bloodshed or revolution. According to the saying of the guru, they had no enemy. They would make up with all.

The committee expressed its determination to solve all problems, even those pertaining to the majority community, through negotiations.

The formation of "Khalistan" government had been entrusted to its "prime minister" or the head, who would announce it shortly. It called upon all Sikh organisations to support "Khalistan".

Protection would be provided to the backward classes and no kind of exploitation would be permitted.

The political set-up would be based on humanism and service. Discrimination in the system of education would not be permitted and natural resources would be distributed on a minimal basis. Everyone would have the right to prosper according to one's ability and capacity.

The government would be based on the co-operation of the people. The administration of justice would be made cheap and all types of inequalities, social evils and untouchability would be removed.

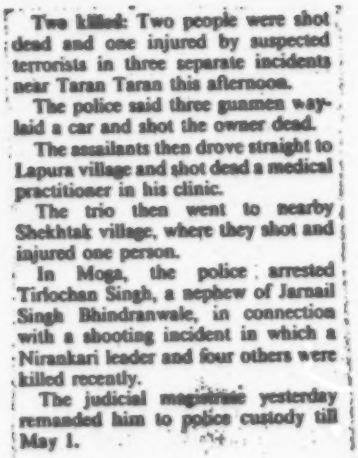
Sikhs settled in other states of India would be invited to settle in Punjab.

PTI & UNI add: The members said they had made the declaration for "Khalistan" publicly because the police "have unleashed a reign of terror in Punjab and Sikh youths are being killed in fake police encounters."

A 'khalistan'' commando force would function as the nucleus for a 'khalistan' army.

The committee also dissolved a five-member team of its secretaries — AISSF(K) convenor, Harinder Singh Kahlon, Gurdarshan Singh, Mrs. Bimal Kaur Khalsa, widow of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassin, Beant Singh, and Damdami Taksal spokesman, Bhai Mohkam Singh.

The announcement came after a series of splits in the AISSF and a rift between the Damdami Taksal and the United Akali Dal led by Baba Joginder Singh.



Two killed: Two people were shot dead and one injured by suspected terrorists in three separate incidents near Taran Taran this afternoon.

The police said three gunmen waylaid a car and shot the owner dead.

The assailants then drove straight to Lapura village and shot dead a medical practitioner in his clinic.

The trio then went to nearby Shekhtak village, where they shot and injured one person.

In Moga, the police arrested Tirlochan Singh, a nephew of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, in connection with a shooting incident in which a Nirankari leader and four others were killed recently.

The judicial magistrate yesterday remanded him to police custody till May 1.

Call for Security Steps

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Mr Rajiv Gandhi tonight requested the Chief Ministers present in Delhi to take all steps to prevent any untoward incident following the so-called proclamation of "Khalistan' by a group of five members belonging to the Panthic committee, report UNI and PTI.

The Prime Minister is understood to have contacted the Chief Ministers over the telephone individually to inform them about the sketchy report received by the Government on the setting up of a "parallel Government of Khalistan" at the Akal Takht.

A general security alert is understood to have been sounded by the Government as a precautionary measure to thwart any possible attempt by terrorists to disturb peace States and Union Territories have been asked to take adequate precautionary measures to maintain law and order and to ensure that anti-social elements do not disturb communal amity. Security in the capital has been tightened and patrolling intensified.

The Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr N. T. Rama Rao, and the West Benegal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, told reporters that the Prime Min ster rang them up and informed them about the first report. The Prime Minister's concern was mainly to see that no panic was created following the development.

Both the Chief Ministers said they had assured Mr. Barnala that they were with him in tackling the situation. They also said the extremists were now more isolated than before. A large number of members of Parliament belonging to different Opposition parties had also pledged support to Mr Barnala.

Mr Rama Rao, commenting on the news, said it was not confirmed and there was no need to panic. "Besides, where is the credibility? I can also proclaim from Andhra that it is a separate State. Who is going to accept it?"

Mr Jyoti Basu said he had already put the State police on the alert to see that nobody took advantage of this development.

According to both the Chief Ministers, the news was received by Mr Barnala when he was having tea with them in the Parliament House annexe where a reception was organized for the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers by Opposition M.P.s.

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CSO: 4600/1712

JANATA NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS 29 APR

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by H. Kusumakar and V. R. Padiyar]

[Text] The Janata national executive today took up what appeared to be an ambiguous position on the controversial Muslim women (protection of rights on divorce) bill. But Mr. George Fernandes, party general secretary, denied there was any such ambiguity.

A resolution approved by the executive committee was clear enough that the bill was inconsistent with the approach of the Janata. It said the party would like to judge the bill on the touchstone of a woman's dignity and her protection is an age in which women were already on the move to liberate themselves from every form of exploitation and inequality.

However, the resolution permitted freedom of expression to its members in Parliament and allowed them to vote on the bill according to their conscience. This, it was explained, was because the party, consistent in its faith in secularism, would not like the religious susceptibilities of any community to be hurt.

The general secretary defended Mr. Shahabuddin's support to the bill and said it was wrong to dub him communal. In any case, the Janata did not want to fall into the trap laid by the Congress which treated the Muslim bill as the main issue before the nation, to the exclusion of other equally important problems.

The resolution now goes before the national council, currently in session. There are some sections which want the party to take a definite stand on the Muslim bill without mincing words.

The resolution described as unfortunate the atmosphere of confrontation that had developed following the Shah Bano case. The sudden introduction of the bill without proper sonsultation with, and concurrence of, opposition parties and women's organisations had further vitiated the atmosphere.

In its political resolution, the national executive charged the Congress with having no qualms in stoking the fires of communal passions for political gains. the Ram Janam Bhoomi yatras and demonstrations, in which the Congress was playing an "important" part, and the unilateral action to change that status quo in the dispute over the Babari masjid, when the question of title was sub judice and both the parties were under restraint from entering the disputed premises, were clear evidence of this.

The resolution said the Congress had finally abandoned the goal of economic self-reliance by mortgaging the economy to foreign multinationals and their political patrons.

It also said that the new education policy sought to perpetuate and strengthen the existing divide between children of the elite and the poor. The new textile policy was killing the handloom and decentralised sectors.

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CSO: 4600/1712

SHANDRA SHEKHAR REELECTED JANATA PRESIDENT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 May 86 p 1

[Article by Padmanand Jha]

[Text] **Jayaprakash Pattan, April 30 —** Mr Chandra Shekhar was re-elected president of the Janata Party by an overwhelming majority here today. He defeated Swamy Agnivesh by more than 400 votes in a straight contest.

Later Mr Chandra Shekhar was authorised by the National Council to nominate members to the National Executive.

Announcing the results of the elections, returning officer Bapu Kaldate said while Mr Chandra Shekhar polled 525 votes, Swamy Agnivesh received 83. Fifteen votes were held invalid. In all only 623 out of total 791 membes of the National Council exercised their franchise.

Mr Chandra Shekhar's re-election had been a foregone conclusion and the votes polled by Swami Agnivesh came as a surprise to many of Mr Shekhar's loyalists. Mr Agnivesh himself said that the numbers of votes he secured tallied roughly with his expectations.

Mr Agnivesh was one of the first persons to call on Mr Shekhar after the results were announced. He assured Mr Shekhar all co-operation in future.

Though Mr Agnivesh lost the polls by a large margin it was obvious that his insistence yesterday that the president be elected only after a contest and not by "manipulated consensus" has won him a lot of admiration from the ranks of the party.

A large number of National Council members thanked Mr Agnivesh for having revived the democratic traditions of the party.

Later talking to newsmen, Mr Agnivesh expressed satisfaction at the conduct of the elections. However, he said a discordant note had arisen in the electoral process because the 74 delegates of Madhya Pradesh were denied the right to vote.

Mr Shekhar in his capacity as president had dissolved the new elected representatives of Madhya Pradesh despite returning officer Dilip Chakravorty's report that the polls there had been regular.

Mr Chandra Shekhar declined to make any comment on Mr Agnivesh's remarks and disclose the reasons why he had ultimately decided to contest despite his oft repeated vow not to continue as the party chief. He said he had relented to pressures brought on him by "friends" in the party and that he had agreed because of the "changed circumstances". But he refused to define the new circumstances.

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CSO: 4600/1715

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER ADDRESSES SECURITY COUNCIL

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Apr 86 p 7

[Text]

New York, April 25 (PTI) — External Affairs Minister B R Bhagat, has voiced the regret of the nonaligned movement that the Security Council stands paralyed as a result of the triple veto exercised last Monday on a NAM resolution on the Libyan crisis.

But, Mr Bhagat told the Council yesterday, "its responsibility does not have and urged that it should provide the "urgently needed initiatives" which would restore peace and tranquillity in the Central Mediterranean.

Mr Bhagat spoke to the Council as it met for a resumed session to discuss the American "armed aggression" against Libya. The request for the meeting was made to the President of the Council, Ambassador Claude De Kemoularia of France, by a NAM delegation headed by the Indian External Affairs Minister.

Mr Bhagat told the Council "we regret, that due to the five negative votes including the triple veto (Australia, Denmark, United States, Britain and France), the Council has lost an opportunity to place on record its commitment to the important concepts included in the resolution".

Mr Bhagat, described to the Council the damage caused by the American bombing raid, and said Col Gaddafi spoke to them "more in sorrow than in anger" at the "havoc" caused by the US action.

He said the Libyan leader had emphasised that the American action was an act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya and rejected the allegations made by the United States and some of her allies linking Libya with recent terrorist attacks and disclaimed any Libyan connection with them.

Mr Bhagat said a cause and effect relation ship had been sought to be created between an admitted attack on a sovereign state and suspected responsibility, which had been denied for certain incidents of terrorism.

The External Affairs Minister said nothing could justify the use of massive force or an armed attack against a sovereign state in contravention of the purposes and principles of the UN charter.

"The Nonaligned Movement shares the worldwide abhorrence of terrorism", he said. "This is reflected in the New Delhi declaration of the nonaligned coordinating bureau, adopted last week, where a specified section details the menace of terrorism and the urgency of the need to combat it".

Mr Bhagat quoted extensively from the statement of the Chairman of the Nonaligned Movement Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and the communique of the New Delhi nonaligned coordinating bureau expressing shock at the American military action against Libya.

He said the expectation of the Nonaligned Movement was that the Security Council, as the primary organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, would take decisive steps to discharge its responsibilities in upholding the charter, in restoring peace and stability and in ensuring that there was no further deterioration in the situation.

Mr Bhagat told the Council: "The Nonaligned Movement and all peace-loving people in the world would not like the situation to escalate any further. We come here to voice the demand for peace, for de-escalation and for defusing the situation.

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CSO: 4600/1710

COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH SOVIET UNION

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Apr 86 p 7

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 29.

A protocol was signed today by India and the Soviet Union for increasing and diversifying the on-going cooperation between the two countries in the spheres of science and technology, electronics, computers, machine-building and oil exploration.

The decision was reached by the two co-chairmen of the Indo-Soviet Joint Commission, the External Affairs Minister Mr. B. R. Bhagat, and the Soviet First Deputy Premier, Mr. I. V. Arkhipov, at the end of the two-day session in Delhi.

Team to visit Moscow: An Indian delegation will be sent to the Soviet Union to identify specific projects for production cooperation in the fields of automobiles and components, chemical engineering equipment, machine tools and earth-moving equipment. It will also explore the possibilities of increased collaboration in the sectors of power generation, telecommunications, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, agriculture and irrigation.

The two sides agreed to examine further the feasibility reports prepared for production of export-oriented alumina by utilising the bauxite deposits in Andhra Pradesh, besides aluminium silicon alloys using the very latest technological methods developed by the Soviet Union.

It has been decided to create sub-groups within the working groups that have already been set up to monitor production cooperation in machine-building, automation of control systems in electronics and computer techniques.

The Joint Commission noted with satisfaction that the Vindhyachal thermal station, being built with Soviet aid, would be commissioned in June, 1987, while the first stage of the Vizag steel plant will be completed in 1988 and the second stage by 1990. It was equally satisfied with the preliminary work done for intensive exploration of oil and gas in Cambay and Cauvery basins, and the decision to go ahead with the Kahalgaon thermal power station. The actual work on these three projects would start before the end of this year as soon as the financial packages are finalised and the project reports approved by the two Governments.

Indian exhibition: Apart from discussing the progress made in stepping up the turn-over of bilateral trade, which is expected to be doubled by 1990 as per the projections contained in the 1986-90 long-term trade plan, the Joint Commission also decided to hold a specialised Indian exhibition in Moscow in 1987.

The two Governments have also been negotiating plans for Indian public and private sector participation in building hotels in Soviet Union for developing tourism. The Soviet Union is interested in Indian organisations taking part in the construction of modern hotels in areas like the Central Asian Republics which have a great potential for tourist development.

The Soviet Deputy Premier is due to call on the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, with a message from Mr. Gorbachev before returning to Moscow. The Soviet leader is expected to pay a visit to India during the next winter season.

Oil search in Cauvery basin

Our Special Correspondent writes:

The Petroleum and Natural Gas Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar Singh, told Mr. Arkhipov today that all preliminary work for oil exploration in the Cauvery and Cambay basins had been done.

These two areas have been made available to the Soviet Union for exploration on an exclusive basis. If they strike oil or gas, actual production will be done by the Indian agencies.

During their 40-minute meeting, the Petroleum Minister informed Mr. Arkhipov that exploratory work in the Cauvery basin was expected to begin some time in June and in the Cambay basin after the next monsoon.

India plans to import 3.5 million tonnes of crude oil and 2.5 million tonnes of petroleum products from the Soviet Union this year.

Mr. Arkhipov assured Mr. Singh that the Soviet Union would continue to supply oil according to the trade plan.

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CSO: 4600/1714

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF SEYCHELLES PRESIDENT

22 Apr Activities

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 22.

INDIA and Seychelles today reiterated their commitment to work for making the Indian Ocean zone of peace, free from superpowers' military presence.

The visiting Seychelles President, Mr. France Albert Rene, and the President, Mr. Zail Singh, in their banquet speeches here expressed grave concern at the destabilising and escalating great power presence in the ocean which posed a threat to peace in the region.

They pleaded for an early convening of the international conference on the Indian Ocean. Mr. Rene said: "It is unfortunate that some great powers have linked some extraneous issues to the concept and are consequently delaying the much-awaited conference."

The two leaders agreed that the Colombo conference scheduled for 1987 must take place and that participation of all great powers was indispensable.

PAT FOR NAM ROLE

Praising the Indian contribution to the cause of peace and international security, Mr. Rene said: "The leaders of India have done much to uphold and sustain the role of the non-aligned movement as an important positive factor in strengthening peace."

Mr. Rene and Mr. Zail Singh welcomed the recent global efforts at disarmament.

They also condemned the continued practice of apartheid in South Africa and the racist regime's illegal occupation of Namibia.

The Seychelles President referred to India's gesture in granting diplomatic status to the SWAPO representative in Delhi, saying it was a further proof of India's commitment towards the eradicaion of apartheid.

Referring to the menace of terrorism, Mr. Rene said small groups openly advocating violent overthrow of the Seychelles government "reside and even obtain financial assistance in certain Commonwealth countries."

The visiting President spoke of the "fruitful" co-operation with India which had been assisting Seychelles in several areas. Even the Seychelles air force was established with the collaboration of the Indian Air Force, he said, adding: "I am proud to say that our co-operation is a healthy one."

Mr. Rene, who arrived here to a warm welcome this morning, had a busy day beginning with a formal call on the President and later he received the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the vice-president, Mr. R. Venkataraman.

UNI adds: Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had an hour-long discussion with Mr. Rene on issues of mutual interest especially the need for increased economic co-operation between the two countries.

The discussions lasted for about an hour and for the first 20 minutes the two leaders met without aides.

Importance of Visit

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 22.

As a strategically located island nation in the Indian Ocean that has successfully resisted the pressures of both the super powers for bases, the tiny republic of Seychelles with a population of only 66,000 is held in high esteem by India.

It is in consonance with the policy of maintaining close ties with all such Indian Ocean island states that the Government of India today extended a warm welcome to the President of Seychelles, Mr. France Albert Rene, when he arrived in Delhi on a State visit.

The island of Mauritius has filial bonds with India in the sense that the majority of its one million people are of Indian origin. It is the only country where people of Indian origin are not only in a majority but also in power in their own right. As such this country has been close to India's heart, despite its economic dependence on South Africa for both trade and tourism.

But little Seychelles with a population of just 66,000 is a truly multi-racial society that is geopolitically closer to the East African states. It has no emotional links with India since the two countries have had little contact with each other in the past. But the former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, visited Seychelles twice realising its growing importance.

This Indian Ocean state has turned increasingly in recent years to India for economic aid, which, as Mr. Rene said, in his reply to the toast at the President's banquet in his honour tonight, was a constructive and healthy example of co-operation that was "free from any pressure, free from imposition of any terms and free from political strings".

He is paying this visit to seek India's assistance in the development of the natural resources of his country with its modest aspirations.

Mr. Rene praised India's consistent support to the African people's struggle against colonialism and racism, especially the crusade of Namibia for freedom from South African subjugation. He made pointed reference to India's recognition of SWAPO and grant of diplomatic status to its mission in Delhi.

He was particularly happy to hear that the SWAPO leader Mr. Sam Nujoma, would be visiting India shortly on a State visit to share his thoughts with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, before he goes on a tour of the Southern African front-line States next month.

It was against this background that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Rene had a wide-ranging discussion today exchanging views on international and regional issues of mutual interest. Senior officials of the two sides held separate talks on the possibilities of increased economic co-operation.

Among the places he is visiting in India will be a trip to Kashmir to see some of the tourist spots there.

Indian Assistance Sought

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 23.

The President of Seychelles, Mr. France Albert Rene, now on a six-day State visit to India, is seeking Indian assistance to set up an international conference centre in Victoria, the capital of the island group, to promote tourism which is one of the main sources of his country's income.

He is also seeking India's help to explore offshore oil deposits and seabed minerals in his country's exclusive economic zone, and to set up some small-scale industries like granite polishing, fish processing and fruit preservation.

Buying Indian goods: As a social leader who has cancelled landing rights for South African Airways in protest against the racist policies of the Pretoria regime, Mr. Rene is seeking a suppliers credit from India for buying Indian manufactured goods first to reduce and finally eliminate his country's dependence on South African products sold at competitive prices. The local Indian-origin community, consisting of some 6,000 people out of a population of 66,000 in Seychelles, is being encouraged to develop a flourishing import trade of Indian consumer goods to replace the traditional trade with South Africa.

Apart from the Bank of Baroda which has opened a branch in Victoria, Tatas have supplied some 80 buses to help run the local transport services. Air India proposes to resume its weekly stopover service of its flights to Mauritius and the Shipping Corporation of India is

planning a bimonthly cargo service.

The radical regime of Mr. Rene had commissioned some Western firms to conduct offshore oil exploration, but these companies have submitted negative reports He has approached the Oil and Natural Gas Commission to evaluate these reports and advise him. It has also been requested to train local personnel and draw up a programme for test runs of drilling operations at selected spots.

Nobody's stooge: Though he is widely regarded as a radical statesman, Mr. Rene is nobody's stooge. He has resisted Soviet bids to secure port facilities for its warships, and refused to let the U.S. set up a base on the island after the closure of the British installations.

But the U.S. has been allowed to continue the tracking station that has been set up on the island for its space programme. An accord is due to be signed soon for extending this lease.

Mr. Rene's main concern is internal security in this balmy island republic with only a token police force. The last abortive coup by some South African trained mercenaries was attempted by less than 50 armed men, but the bizarre bid to overthrow his leftist Government failed in equally comical circumstances.

Though he has no special kinship with India because of his filial bonds with France, Mr. Rene is looking to India for moral support and economic assistance to sustain his socialist regime in the island republic isolated in the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean.

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CSO: 4600/1708

INDO-CZECHOSLOVAK TRADE TURNOVER RISES BY 30 PERCENT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] Czechoslovak-Indian trade turnover rose by 30 per cent between 1983 and 1985 and was worth 130 million dollars last year.

India ranks among Czechoslovakia's five biggest trade partners from among the developing countries, along with Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Iran reports CTK.

Czechoslovak-Indian cooperation saw an upsurge in the 1960's when Czechoslovakia built energy, engineering and other plants in India. At present, some 1,000 small, medium and large plants built with Czechoslovakia's participation are in operation in India. Talks on modernization and expansion of some of them the Engineering Metallurgy and Heavy Machine Tools Works in Ranchi and the Power Engineering Works in Hyderabad and Tiruchirapalli are now under way.

Czechoslovakia is also interested in the construction of hydroelectric power stations and rolling trains for metallurgical works in India. Czechoslovak producers and organizations are prepared to supply complete plants also for other spheres of the Indian economy and cooperate on the basis of consortiums with the developed Indian industry.

Czechoslovakia traditionally exports to India primarily engineering products--textile and printing machines, machine tool, diesel units, steel, fertilisers, plastic materials; ball bearings and other goods. It imports from India primarily porage cake, cotton yarn, iron ore, mica, leather and hides, tea, spices and other products.

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CSO: 4600/1711

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING SIGNED WITH FRG

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Besides a 10% increase in West German aid to India from this year (which has been at a steady Rs 280 crores), the country has agreed to give advanced technical training to Indians in selected areas to improve the quality of Indian products and make it competitive in German markets.

This is contained in the eight point understanding that has been reached during the talks here since yesterday between the visiting West German team headed by the Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl, and Indian leaders on ways to reduce India's trade deficit.

Memorandums of understanding were also reached on economic cooperation in the coal and lignite industry, oceanographic technology and on opening a new research centre at the Indian Institute of Technology at Madras.

Disclosing the outcome of his visit which, he hoped, would open a new chapter in Indo-German relations, Mr Kohl told reporters that a team of top industrialists accompanying him had exchanged ideas with their counterparts here and identified areas of cooperation.

On the subject of terrorism, the Chancellor said his country shared India's concern in the matter and that West German was ready to take action, within the legal framework, if it was told of any specific case of terrorist activity in West Germany.

UNI adds: Mother Teresa today called on Mr Kohl and his wife at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Mother Teresa, who runs several centres in West Germany, apprised them of her activities in various parts of India.

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CSO: 4600/1712

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH ALGERIA--India and Algeria have agreed to co-operate in the execution of railway projects in third world countries. Under the agreement, India will provide technology, training for Algerian railway personnel, and make available the services of Indian experts. This was announced here today by the minister of state for railways, Mr. Madhavrao Scindia, while addressing the annual day function of the Indian Railway Construction Company (IRCON). Algeria, he said, had also agreed to award the contract to IRCON for carrying out work relating to rehabilitation and modernisation of 80 km of railway track in Algeria at a cost of Rs. 100 crores. IRCON recently completed construction of 25 km railway line to serve the Saida cement plant in Algeria. The two countries have also set up a joint working group to monitor Indo-Algerian co-operation. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Apr 86 p 9]/12828

CSO: 4600/1712

RAFSANJANI: U.S. WILL BECOME BOLDER IF NOT PUNISHED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 16 Apr 86 p 2

> [Text] The foreign ministers of Libya and Syria, along with Dr Velayati, met yesterday with Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, and Engineer Musavi, the president. In this meeting, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani emphasized that if the United States is not dealt a blow for this aggression, it will become bolder.

In this meeting, first Faruq al-Shar', the foreign minister of Syria, emphasized the alliance of Libya, Iran and Syria and said: The imperialist forces are frightened by the tripartite meeting of Libya, Syria and Iran. For this reason, the West, particularly the United States, continues widespread propaganda on this issue. The United States wants to deal with each of these countries individually and is afraid to be involved on several fronts. Countries that have in any way been invaded by the United States must rise against imperialism as a group and in a coordinated manner.

In the next meeting, the nonaligned countries must condemn the United States.

He then declared the firm decision of Syria to help Libya confront the United States and emphasized that no matter how costly such a confrontation, Syria will stand beside Libya.

Then "Kamil Hasan Mansur," the secretary of the people's committee for foreign relations of the Libyan Jamahiriya, emphasized the confrontation of Libya against the aggressive United States and said: While the world is watching Tripoli, it is watching Tehran and the tripartite meeting as well as the meeting of the nonaligned countries in India. We believe that the aggressive actions of the United States must be responded to appropriately, with action, otherwise such aggression will not stop. We emphasize that we all must never compromise and we must ask others not to be afraid of this empty drum.

Then Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi, pointing out that such incidents cannot influence our movements and actions, he called these moments in history sensitive and said: We do not consider this action of the United States as a sign of power; it is precisely a sign of the weakness of the United States.

He pointed out that with the presence and resistance of the people, these bombings have no effect and referred to Dezful as a revealing example.

The speaker of the Majlis then emphasized that the bombing cannot eliminate the will of a nation and that nations can impose their will on aggressors. Referring to southern Lebanon and the resistance there, he said: We must take the utmost advantage and show the steadfastness and power of the people. If the United States is not dealt a blow with regard to this aggression, it will become bolder.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani considered the United States to be vulnerable and likened it to those who live in glass palaces. Then he said: Certainly we are with Libya and believe that the United States will not achieve any results, neither in Libya nor in Syria. Hence, we three countries along with other friends will take the necessary actions in time and, God willing, we will soon respond to the United States and Saddam.

He added: The bitter point, the agreement of the reactionary countries in the region is for attack against Libya. You ask them if they claim that the United States is lying; they should prove in practice that the United States has lied.

In the meeting with the foreign ministers of Libya and Syria, Prime Minister Engineer Musavi asked for a strong, common decision against the U.S. military aggression against Libya so that the enemy would not entertain the thought of invading other countries.

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CSO: 4640/279

PAPER REPORTS ARAB SUPPORT OF U.S. 'AGGRESSION'

LD191630 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1213 GMT 19 Apr 86

["Article from 19 April KEYHAN: "The U.S. Aggression Against Libya and the Extraordinary Arab League Leaders' Meeting"--read by announcer]

[Excerpts] Will Arab leaders convene to discuss the U.S. military aggression against Libya or not? This question is being asked in international and regional circles; but, those same leaders have not yet agreed on the need for an extraordinary session. Libya has asked for an extraordinary session of Arab leaders to discuss U.S. aggression against an Arab country. A number of Arab League states as reported from various sources, have announced their agreement to hold such a session.

Saudi Arabia has announced that during this session repeated aggression against Arab Ummah must be discussed. The meeting behind "repeated aggression against Arab Ummah" is that the Iran-Iraq war should be placed on the agenda of the session. Libya and Syria have objected to this condition, stating that the Iran-Iraq war has nothing to do with the developments in the Mediterranean Basin. The conservative regimes are actually trying to negate the principle necessity for holding such a session because they are well aware that U.S. aggression against Libya has brought the Arab world to the brink of a very serious development and that the leaders cannot shrink away from this aggression, if the U.S. aggression against Libya is to be the only topic on the agenda of the extraordinary session of Arab leaders, blows will be dealt to guarantees and relations between the reactionary rulers of the Middle East region and Washington. In this way, the topic of the U.S. aggression against Libya will lose its importance and sensitivity.

If the Arab League members want to consider the Iran-Iraq war seriously however, they will find no opposition. They may even place the Iran-Iraq war beside the U.S. aggression on Libya because, from our point of view, the two topics are interrelated. There is, of course, a primary condition: the acceptance of the legitimate right of a Muslim country to strive to regain its trodden rights. The Iran-Iraq war must be considered with deeply rooted issues in mind. For example, the Iraqi regime began a surprise, extensive aggression against the Islamic revolution of Iran in 1980 when the Islamic revolution in Iran had not solidified its control over the internal situation. This aggression began at a time when the Islamic revolution of Iran had been

engaged in a serious confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its hands within Iran, resulting in the annihilation of Iranian border towns, mass murder of civilians, the plundering of civilian property, and the loss of billions of dollars worth of Iranian national investments in this aggression. The Iraqi regime, in fact, completed the unfinished acts of hegemony against the budding revolution in Iran.

The allies of the Iraqi regime, such as Kuwait, have shouldered the bulk of financial burden for this aggression and they still continue to support the aggressive regime of Iraq. In general, the vast resources of Muslim Iran and Iraq, which should have been used against the Zionist regime in the just war of the regional Muslims, are now wasted.

One may become hopeful for further sessions of this kind if the above topic is discussed and the Arab leaders decide to consider the events related to the imposed war seriously. The Iraqi aggression against the Islamic revolution of Iran has common characteristics with that of the United States against Libya. There are close similarities between the two aggressions in form, preliminary stages, and their agents. It must be said however, that the Arab reactionary orders are not ready to participate in the extraordinary session of the Arab leaders. It is now clear to all political experts that the reactionary regime of the Arab world long ago conveyed to the Western circles that they are prepared to live with Libya without Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi. The reactionary regimes of the region have now proposed a decisive condition so that they may indirectly support the aggressive U.S. administration

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CSO: 4640/272

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON 'U.S. AGGRESSION' AGAINST LIBYA

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 3 May 86 p 3

> [Text] The Muslim world will explode like a volcano to fight terrorism, and it will destroy the aggressors and their centers.

Tehran--IRNA, 2-11-65 [1 May 1986].

In a joint communique, Libya and Iran have announced that they will fight America's aggression against Libya with all their resources.

In view of the fact that both countries are able to guide Muslims, they stressed in the communique that they will attempt to mobilize a billion Muslims in order to defend the religion, its shrines, and their independence. If war breaks out, it will be an all-out war and will not be limited to Libya and Iran. It will spread to East and West and the Muslim world.

The communique was issued at the end of a trip by an Iranian delegation headed by Foreign Minister Velayati to Libya. It said:

The Libyan Jamahiriya's position is one of support for the Islamic Republic of Iran in the war imposed on it by the fascist Iraqi regime, and it stresses the necessity for the fall of this regime.

The communique respects the right of the Muslim people of Iraq to determine their political, social, and intellectual future, and it stresses respect for the sovereignty of Arab nations. The joint communique, which referred to the American attack against Libya as a part of a Christian cursade, warned of the consequences of this type of attack for America and the European countries. It warned the European countries against submitting to American terrorism and pressure. It called upon them to cancel the aggressive measures they have taken against Libya.

In their statement, Iran and Libya described the "Black House" as the official center of terrorism in the world, and called Reagan and some of his allies "criminals and baby killers."

The statement noted that Muslims are the victims of political, economic, propaganda, and military terrorism from America, Europe, and Zionism, and the context for this is the plundering of the basic resources of Muslims. It warned that the Muslim world will explode like a volcano to fight terrorism, and it will destroy those who attack its centers.

The two signatories to the "New Marshall Plan" are calling for a new crusade in the area of economics, which is being promoted by America and Zionism and which is being founded and implemented by the industrial countries.

In this regard, the statement said: The above plan is being prepared using oil capital from Arab - Muslim countries. America resorted to this plan after after the defeat of its plots against popular Islamic revolutions and its inability to bring these revolutions to their knees.

The statement also said that it is incumbent upon Muslims not to allow any obstacles, restrictions, or mandate to prevent them from performing their sacred duties of holy war, martyrdom, and rebellion, in order to fight the aggression of America, Europe, and the regime occupying Jerusalem, whose goals are to destroy Muslim religion, shrines, culture, civilization, and resources.

It is to be noted that Dr Velayati, our country's foreign minister, went to Libya at the head of a political and military delegation in order to announce the support of the government and nation of the Islamic Republic of Iran for Libya against American aggression. Yesterday morning Velayati and his delegation arrived in Syria from Libya.

Full Text of Iran-Libya Communique

The full text of the Iran-Libya communique which was issued at the end of Dr Velayati's trip to Tripoli is as follows:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. A delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran composed of Dr 'Ali Velayati, Foreign Minister, Mohsen Rafiq'dust, Minister of the Revolutionary Guards, along with a political and military delegation, visited the Jamahiriya of Libya between 28-30 April to show solidarity and renewed support from the Islamic revolution and the Iranian nation for the nation of the Libyan Jamahiriya against America's thwarted anti-Libyan aggression.

This delegation visited the bombed residential areas and saw the effects of this attack on children, women, and old people.

For confirmation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's resistance and steadfastness, with which it bravely and firmly stood against American aggression, the delegation saw first-hand the aircraft downed by Libyan anti-aircraft rockets.

In view of the responsibility of Iran and Libya as two Islamic revolutions to protect and align with the Arab and Muslim people and for the two countries to fight the tenth Christian crusade which America and its allies have begun, the two countries announce:

1 - America's aggression against the Libyan Jamahiriya is nothing other than a tenth Christian crusade led by America, Europe, and the Zionist enemy against Islam and Muslims. The reason for this claim is Reagan's remarks after the recent attack on Libya, in which he said: The goal of the attack on Libya was to kill Qadhdhafi as a fundamentalist Islamic hard-liner. These remarks affirm the goals and dimensions of the Christian crusade's aggression.

2 - Libya and Iran will fight this tenth Christian crusade with all their resources, and they will strive to mobilize a billion Muslims to take steps in order to defend their religion, their shrines, and their independence against Christian aggression. If war should break out, it will be an all-out war and will not be limited to Libya and Iran. It will spread to East and West and the Muslim world. The two Islamic revolutions of Libya and Iran can lead Muslims in the fight against this Christian aggression. Therefore, these two countries warn America and the European countries of the consequences of such aggression, and they stress: Just as the Muslims were victorious in the crusades of the past, they can also triumph this time over a new crusade. Iran and Libya stress this with the determination of certainty.

3 - Iran and Libya warn the European countries against submitting to American terrorism and pressure, and it is incumbent upon these countries to cancel the aggressive measures they have taken Libya.

4 - Iran and Libya reject the charge of terrorism. They stress that Reagan and some of his allies are criminals and baby killers and that the "Black House" is the official center of terrorism in the world. Muslims are the victims of American, European, and Israeli political, economic, propaganda, military, and psychological terrorism, and the plunder of basic Muslim resources affirms this matter.

The Muslim world will universally explode like a volcano to fight terrorism, and it will destroy the agents of aggression and their centers.

5 - The Zionist-American Marshall plan, which is being promoted by the Zionist American regime and which is being established and implemented by the industrial countries, is in reality nothing more than a new Christian crusade in the area of economics. America resorted to this plan after after the defeat of its plots against popular Islamic revolutions and its inability to bring these revolutions to their knees.

The aim of this imperialist - Zionist plan is to strengthen their influence and domination in the area. This plan is a kind of economic aggression designed to subdue the area for America and its allies and to put obstacles in the way of the growth and expansion of liberation movements in this area.

6 - The Muslim people of East and West in the Muslim world are arising today with inspiration from the spirit of the martyrdom-seeking holy war in order to fight the tenth Christian crusade led by America, Europe, and the regime occupying Jerusalem, because the goal of this crusade is to destroy their religion, shrines, culture, civilization, existence, and resources. It is therefore incumbent upon Muslims, in order to fight this aggression, not to allow any restriction, obstacles, or mandate to prevent them from performing their sacred duty of holy war, martyrdom, and rebellion.

7 - The Libyan Jamahiriya's position is one of support for the Islamic Republic of Iran in the war imposed on it by the fascist Iraqi regime, and it stresses the necessity for the fall of this regime. Iran stresses respect for the sovereignty of its Arab neighbor countries. This country denies any expansionist objective on Iraqi soil or any other country, and it respects the will of the Arab and Muslim people of Iraq to determine their future based on their right to choose their political, social, and intellectual future.

9310
CSO: 4640/290

OFFICIAL WARNS MOVEMENT AGAINST 'HOSTILE ACTIVITIES'

GF221351 London KEYHAN in Persian 17 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Tehran--KEYHAN News Service. American agents have again surfaced. Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Ko'iniha, prosecutor general of the Islamic revolution, has warned the Liberation Movement Association led by Engineer Nazargan that it should halt hostile activities against the Islamic Republic.

In a speech delivered 8 April on the anniversary of the end of relations with the United States, Mohammad Kho'iniha, prosecutor general, and as leader of the students following the line of Imam, said: After the occupation of the spy den, the provisional government fell and the American agents were set aside. They have raised their heads again and may again harm the Islamic revolution. They are harming the Islamic revolution when the support of Saddam. They are fools to ask us to end the war. If they had any common sense they would not ask for this. These words which come from the mouth of defeated persons have no customer. These words are dictated to them by the archsatan the United States. We will use force to stop these 200 or 300 men. We will not let them ruin the blood of our martyrs. We are watching their every mode and have also asked the people to report to us on their every move.

Kho'iniha, who had not been seen and had not spoken in public for a long time, said: Whenever I want to speak, they say do not speak because this weakens the government. What has this to do with the government? When I say why do physicians prescribe a medicine when it is not available, they say do not speak. Should we let them do whatever they want?

/9274
CSO: 4640/272

COMMENTARY CLAIMS 'CONSPIRACY' AGAINST KHARG FAILED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 27 Apr 86 p 2

[Commentary by Courtesy Crescent: "Oil Weapon to Bankrupt Iran Hurts U.S.-Saudi Economic Interests"]

[Text] *A dramatic drop in oil prices last month was halted by U.S. intervention. The plunging oil prices to below US$10 per barrel, for the first time since 1974, was hurting U.S. economy more than Iran, the intended victim. Vice-President Bush's sudden flight on April 3 to Washington's most reliable ally in the Middle East underlined the interdependence of the Saudi dynasty and the U.S. Given the subservient nature of the kingdom, the former CIA chief had no difficulty in convincing his hosts of the wisdom in shelving their scheme against Iran.*

The Saudi decision to flood the oil market was taken as far back as June last year. This precipitated the collapse of the oil price in an already weak market. This decision, the result of a U.S.-Saudi conspiracy, was to achieve two objectives: to enable Saudi Arabia to increase oil production sufficiently to cause a perceptible decline in the price of oil without incurring a loss in oil revenues; and to bring about the destruction of Iran's economy.

A decline in the price of oil was needed to stimulate U.S. economic recovery. Although Saudi Arabia, as the biggest Arab oil producer, could easily absorb any drop in oil prices it had to ensure that it suffered no loss of revenue. The Iranian factor thus became crucial. If Iran's Kharg terminal, then exporting a million barrels daily, could be put out of action, and the loss in oil output made up by increasing Saudi supplies, both problems would be solved at a stroke.

The most attractive part of the deal was not the economic mechanism but the prospects of real destruction of the Kharg terminal. Not only the oil facilities but also the defense system in and around Kharg were built by the Americans. As the only ones with detailed plans of the

system, they knew its weaknesses. President Carter's contingency plan for 'taking Kharg out' in 1980 became the basis of Reagan's new deal with Saudi Arabia.

The convergence of interests of the U.S., Saudi Arabia, France and Iraq provided a stimulus to operations against Kharg in August last year. Saddam Husain and his allies thought they could achieve on the oil terminal what had not been possible on the battlefield.

Iran was already under diplomatic pressure: Saudi Arabia baited Iran to bilateral talks and to exchange visits by foreign ministers. The timing was anything but coincidental. The Saudi-sponsored media carried detailed stories of the failure of the negotiations and 'Iranian intransigence' even before the Iranian foreign minister had left the Saudi capital on December 9. The European and American newspapers also carried editorials and articles that, in the face of Iran's intransigence, the only way to force it to come to the negotiating table was to deprive it of its oil revenues.

Shortly after the Saudi announcement to increase output, Iraq made its deepest penetration of Kharg Island. For years it had tried to penetrate the vital oil terminal defenses but did not succeed beyond bombing defenseless cargo vessels.

Things, however, did not work out quite the way they were planned. Even though Iraq succeeded in causing serious damage to the terminal in August, it was not destroyed. The U.S. could only complain of the Iraqi pilots' ineptitude. On the economic front too, the U.S.-Saudi scheme backfired. The Saudi announcement of increased output triggered a free-for-all among the rest of the oil producers. With the others increasing their production as well, the Saudis were soon in deep trouble. Since Iran's oil export could not be stopped, the next best thing was to let the prices fall to a level intolerable for the Iranian economy.

Despite the pressure on Iran, the Saudi-U.S. conspiracy had to a large degree failed to achieve its desired results. By the end of March (1986), the waiting game was taking its toll of the Saudi and US economies, instead of effecting Iran's collapse. Saudi Arabia witnessed massive speculation against its currency and flight of capital not only because of economic uncertainties but also as a result of Iran's victories at Faw in February. The U.S.'s own economic aim in the manipulation of the oil market — thanks to Saudi good offices — was to stave off another recession and make others pay for US recovery in the form of cheap oil. It certainly was to stave off another recession and make others pay for U.S. recovery in the form of cheap oil. It certainly was not to set off other economic

problems. When the oil prices collapsed, threatening the economic base of the state of Louisiana and the Southwest, Washington had a quick change of heart.

Even before the massive drop in oil prices the U.S. oil industry had suffered a 30 percent reduction in oil exploration investments resulting in large lay-offs. The economic destruction of the energy producing areas could have a serious ripple effect on the fragile financial system. The collapse of the banking system was a distinct possibility because of an estimated $60 billion in energy loans, more than 90 percent being held by the financial institutions in the U.S. oil producing regions. Since it costs the U.S. $15 to produce a barrel of oil as opposed to a mere $2.5 for their Arab counterparts, the drop to a level of $10 and below would all but destroy Washington's plans for energy independence.

The selection of Vice-President Bush to play a new tune to King Fahd was no coincidence either. He is a representative of U.S. oil interests in Washington who made his fortune in oil. His son still runs an oil company in Texas and his political base is there. In the sixties George Bush represented this important oil state in Congress for two terms. In two years he is likely to be a Presidential candidate of the coalition of Zionist and oil interests.

/12851
CSO: 4600/313

ARTICLE COMMENTS ON PRESENT CONDITIONS, REGIME'S FUTURE

Beirut MEMO/A MONTHLY REVIEW OF ECONOMICS AND COMMERCE in English 25 Mar 86 pp 10, 11

[Article by Christos Anastassiades: "Iran War Cost Outweighed by Ideology"]

[Text]

The economic burden of prosecuting the Gulf war is not getting any lighter for Iran as the fall in oil prices slashes vital oil earnings. But religious fervour, reports Christos Anastassiades, continues to offset the effects of deprivation for the average Iranian.

Fierce fighting continues on two fronts of the 66-month Gulf war. The outcome of the battles is, as always, controversial and the two sides claim successes both in terms of "liberating territory" and 'inflicting heavy losses on the enemy'. In a recent meeting in Riyadh, delegates from the six GCC member-states put the blame squarely on Iran, condemning the Iranian occupation of Iraqi territory. But the Iranians do not want to forget the 1980 Iraqi attack. For that reason, they demand that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein step down. They also expect war reparations in the order of $300 billion. In short, the Iranians are determined to carry on with the war.

The war has put considerable pressure on the Iranian economy. Oil exports have been disrupted and a large portion of lower oil earnings is eaten up by the conflict. Hundreds of factories near the war front were destroyed or seriously damaged. Many other industrial units cannot function at full capacity because of inadequate financing. More tragic, thousands of Iranians were killed or incapacitated. Certainly, no one expected the Islamic republic to survive for that long with so many open wounds.

War impact on the economy

Having failed to defeat Iran militarily, Iraq has been trying to bend the Islamic Republic economically. As the Iranian economy is almost entirely dependent on oil exports, Baghdad has done its best to disrupt those exports. Iraqi jets bombed Iran's main oil export terminal at Kharg island dozens of times. The terminal has not been destroyed, but sustained considerable damage. Iranian oil exports have indeed been reduced and, according to some estimates, their present level does not exceed 800,000 b/d, compared to more than 5 million b/d prior to the war and around 2.1 million b/d in 1985. But Iran seems determined to continue exporting as much oil as it can.

The country's plans of building a pipeline through Turkey reveal its determination to make its oil exports

less vulnerable to disruption caused by repeated Iraqi air raids. In addition to the Iran/Turkey pipeline, the Islamic Republic is reported to be making increasing use of the Sirri island oil terminal which is thought to be beyond the range of the Iraqi airforce. Thus Iran hopes it may gradually become less dependent on Kharg island for its oil exports. If this is achieved, the country may be spared not only the constant fear of Iraqi air raids against its oil installations, but also the expense of increased commission reportedly paid to shipowners as an incentive to serve Iranian ports in the Gulf.

But with oil prices continuing their slide, the wisdom of vast expenditure on promoting oil exports may be questionable. However, Tehran is forced to go ahead with those expenditures since it does not really have any other considerable source of income (as much as 90 percent of Iran's income comes from oil exports), although the Iranians understand that there have to be limitations to their gamble on oil exports. Thus, they recently abandoned plans to build a 380-kilometre pipeline that would connect the Gurreh underground pumping station for Kharg island to Asaluyeh in the southern part of the Gulf. This project would have cost about $1.2 billion, an amount the Iranians felt they could not afford.

It is not yet clear how the Iranian leadership plans to cope with the negative consequences of declining oil revenues which seem unavoidable because of reduced exports as well as the glutted oil market. In the Iranian fiscal year ending March 1985, Iran's oil earnings were in the neighbourhood of $14.7 billion, substantially lower than the $21.1 billion target.

Needless to say, Iran is anything but indifferent about the depressed oil market. Iranian officials recently suggested that oil-producing countries temporarily halt oil production so as to give the oil market a chance to recover and prices to stop their downward trend. It is ironical that such a suggestion comes from a country which had been long suspected of exceeding its Opec quota and selling its oil at below the official Opec price, thus contributing to the price war.

In any event, as the Iranian suggestion does not seem to be anywhere near adoption and implementation by other oil-producing countries, Tehran will inevitably have to cope with reduced oil revenues. What remains to be seen is to what extent reduced revenues will affect the war effort and the standard of living of the Iranian population. Iran is already known to be spending more than 30 percent of its annual budget on the war effort. Not surprisingly, its foreign currency reserves are believed to have dwindled to $5 billion in early 1986, as opposed to an officially announced $13 billion in 1983, and settling outstanding debts has become increasingly difficult. Last month, Iran reportedly stopped repayments to Japan for a $3.5 billion Japanese-built petrochemical complex.

The war, sanctioned by Ayatollah Khomeini as a holy war against blasphemy, continues to be the country's top priority and is likely to continue into the foreseeable future. The conflict is already very costly and can become even more expensive if Iran is really interested in scoring decisive victories against Iraq. Iran is known to be considerably inferior to Iraq military-wise and its major 'asset', the 'human wave' attacks, have so far proved to be capable of scoring nothing more than short-term victories.

Reports indicate that Iran recently purchased missiles from South Korea and 155-mm guns from Austria. Clandestine purchases of military equipment from France are also reported. Such purchases, however, tend to eat up whatever hard currency there may be left.

The financing of the war is shunting funds away from the productive sectors. Thus factories in Iran are deprived of badly needed financial assistance which would keep them running. The private industrial sector in Iran is especially confronting serious problems as public sector factories get priority in financing.

Moreover, the war resulted in the destruction of more than 3,000 factories on and near the front. Other industrial units are also facing a lot of pressure and their operating well below capacity may soon render them uneconomical. Industrial production in the second half of 1985 declined by an estimated 17 percent over the same period in 1984 and the closing down of some factories may soon become a distinct possibility. In that event, Iran may start to face the pressures of an increasing number of unemployed.

At this point the Islamic Republic can downplay the problem of unemployment as the war can provide a "job" for every Iranian. Recently, Ayatollah Khomeini even asked women to join the ranks of the army and go the the war front. Economic problems notwithstanding, ideological zeal in Iran remains at high levels. In fact, it may be the war, the perception of an enemy who dared to invade the Islamic Republic, that keeps this zeal at its present levels.

Nonetheless, Iran's leadership realises that adherence to the ideals of the Islamic revolution must be supplemented by something more material, if the masses of Iranians are to be appeased. Thus, it has provided a comprehensive package of privileges for those who participate in the war. Once their service on the front is completed, war veterans have priority in gaining employment opportunities and usually earn higher salaries. This in addition to their elevated status as war heroes.

Moreover, relatives of those killed are also allowed special privileges such as generous compensation. They also enjoy the society's esteem as relatives of a martyr. For Iranian society, dying in a Jihad, a holy war, is thought of as guaranteeing a place in heaven.

Clearly, the combination of moral and material incentives makes the prosecution of the war relatively tolerable to Iranians. There is reportedly some domestic opposition to the war but, especially in recent years, it has proved to be poorly organised and so far totally ineffectual. The Mujahedeen movement, a group of leftist Muslims who were involved in a number of spectacular attacks against the Islamic clergy in the early 1980s, look crippled, largely because of mass executions. Former President Banisadr may be making profound comments from his haven in France but no one in Iran seems to be listening to him. To that extent, it is questionable whether he is still a factor to be reckoned with in Iranian politics.

If organised opposition is virtually non-existent, a spontaneous movement has never been given a chance to develop. Economic pressures generated on the domestic front have certainly not assumed extreme proportions. Some shortages were reported and led to some grumbling, especially in urban areas. But to the faithful — and there are many — religious fervour is apparently enough to fill the vacuum generated by deprivation.

Indeed many foodstuffs in Iran are rationed and this generated inconvenience for the bulk of the population. But the Iranian authorities have made sure there is absolutely no bread shortage (they apparently learned from the experience of many countries that bread shortages are socially intolerable and almost always lead people into the streets). Therefore, bread in Iran is abundant and a loaf does not normally cost more than 12 cents. The extraordinarily low price of bread is due to government subsidisation which, according to some observers, amounts to more than $300 million annually.

Ideology prevails – but for how long?

Largely thanks to Islamic ideology, so successfully imparted on the Iranian nation by the charismatic personality of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran is not only surviving the war cost but is also able to launch large scale offensives. Modern history, however, shows that ideological movements sometimes lose their momentum. Revolutions inevitably

grow middle-aged and show signs of degeneration. Then people become more concerned with what they actually have (or could have) rather than with transcendental spiritual concepts. The Iranian revolution is perhaps too young to have reached that stage. On the other hand, the Gulf war has, in all likelihood, played a role in maintaining the revolution's vitality. But if the history of modern revolutionary movements is something to go by, the Iranian revolution will inevitably reach middle-age. This possibility hangs like a Damoclean sword over the heads of the present Iranian establishment.

/12851
CSO: 4600/315

WOMEN TO RECEIVE MILITARY TRAINING NATIONWIDE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 Apr 86 p 18

[Text] From 30 Farvardin [19 April] this year, 2,000 military training centers will be responsible for the military training of the sisters throughout the country.

Sister Da'ipur, the director of the mobilization of the sisters of the guards corps, issued the above statement in a press, radio and television interview this morning. In connection with the statements of the imam concerning the battle readiness of the sisters, she said: Following the statements of the imam concerning the role of the mobilization of the sisters in military training, the headquarters for the mobilization of sisters decided to take responsibility for the training of the mobilization sisters.

She added: Hence, throughout the country, from 30 Farvardin [19 April], 2,000 military training centers called Fatemeh Zahra training centers will teach military techniques to the volunteer sisters.

She added: A form has been prepared for the admission of the sisters. The applicants can go to the mobilization centers for the sisters in the guards corps throughout the country to fill them out. She added: The above-mentioned headquarters will train the sisters on the basis of these forms.

Sister Da'ipur added: A course on the teacher training of sisters will begin on 30 Farvardin [19 April] in Tehran to teach all the mobilization forces of the sisters and provide the teaching cadre.

He added: The work of the teacher training of the sisters continues in the mobilization and it is anticipated that in the first 6 months of this year, 2,000 instructors will receive the necessary training.

She added: In addition to military techniques, the sisters will also receive emergency training.

10,000
CSO: 4640/279

NEED FOR HEAVY U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN QUESTIONED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 8 April 86 p 2

[Column: "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpts] When martial law ended in Pakistan and democratic institutions were restored, it was hoped that the background of U.S. aid and the Afghan problem would be discussed in the parliament, and that the nation would come to know all about these matters. Unfortunately things did not happen as expected and many pacts made during martial law are still a mystery to us.

The U.S. aid pact for giving Pakistan $3.2 billion was meant for a definite period of time. A new pact had to be made before this time was over. Negotiations for a new pact had been started during the martial law. The government that came into power at the end of martial law continued the negotiations. Now a so-called civil government is in office, but General Yaqub Khan, the foreign minister during the martial law, is still foreign minister; General Ziaul Haq, who was chief martial law administrator, is still chief of the army staff and president of Pakistan. In the same way, most economic decisions are being made by Mr Ghulam Ishaw, finance minister of the martial law regime, present chairman of the Senate. As a result, nobody has consulted the National Assembly in the matter of the U.S. Aid pact.

Some time ago the U.S. nuclear fleet came to Karachi. Many papers carried the news that prime minister Mr Mohammad Khan Junejo had not received any information about the visit of the fleet. The government did not deny it. That is how the politicians got a chance to say that the prime minister is perfectly powerless in the country. The real ruler is still General Zia, who is not accountable to anybody, since he is not only the elected president but also chief of the army staff. When the present finance minister, Mr. Yasin Vattoo, went to Washignton to negotiate the new aid pact, it was given out that Pakistan wanted aid of $6.5 billion, i.e., an increase of 50 per cent over the previous aid pact. The United States has never made such an enormous increase on aid to any country in the past. If the United States had consented to this increase, everybody would have been astonished, since the United States has decreased its aid to many countries owing to its own budget deficit. After Mr Vattoo's return, United States government officials visited Pakistan and made a new pact for giving this country about $4.5 billion in aid. This aid is 50 [as published] per cent more than the aid Pakistan

received previously. The American Senate has not yet given its consent, but there is no reason for a refusal, since the United States considers Pakistan to be a frontline state against Afghanistan. By sending its nuclear fleet, the United Shates has sent a message to the Arabs, especially the Gulf States, that when the Iraq-Iran war reaches its conclusion, the United States will be fully prepared to make a military intervention in the region. It has, moreover, told the world of Islam that it does not care for any adverse reaction to its aggression against Libya in Pakistan or in any other country.

Now let us discuss something that needs careful scrutiny. Pakistan and Afghanistan are going to have their negotiations in the United Nations sometime next month. What we hear from official and nonofficial sources is that it is believed that an agreement is sure to be reached there. Now the question arises: If the Afghan question is sure to be settled, where is the justification for receiving so much United States aid in the name of the Afghanistan crisis? After the solution of the Afghan problem, Pakistan will neither remain a frontline state, nor will the Soviet troops pose a danger for it. Where is the need for getting so much aid from the United States?

We should remember that after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, we were offered only $400 million in aid which we refused. Now that the Soviet troops are about to leave Afghanistan, why should we ask for or accept $4.5 billion United States aid? The nation should be given a satisfactory answer to this basic question.

The United States will not give $4.5 billion to us in charity. This is a sort of loan on which we shall have to pay an interest. If, 6 years ago, we refused $400 million aid and could live without it, what has gone wrong with our self reliance now that we are begging $4.5 billion aid from the United States?

The United States is the country that: was not willing to give us more than "peanuts" in aid when the Soviets attacked Afghanistan; despite a military pact, did not help us during the two wars we went through; has kept millions of Palestiainians homeless for 40 years; conducted a massacre in Vietnam; made aggressive attacks against Libya; has not made Israel vacate Arab regions; has helped Israel to commit mass murder in Lebanon and destroy the nuclear power plant in Iraq; attacked Grenada; caused the downfall of many rulers, including an old friend, Marcos; committed shameful acts of air piracy; sent guerrillas and mercenary troops against popular regimes in Latin America. If the United States had been our sincere friend, it could soon have made Pakistan an industrially advanced country like West Germany, South Korea and Japan. But it did not install heavy machinery in our country in order to keep us economically undeveloped. It did not help us in mechanized agriculture in order to prevent us from becoming self-sufficient in food. It did not allow us to have a nuclear power plant to make electricity, on the excuse that we would use it to make nuclear bombs. Why are we accepting economic aid from a country which refuses to believe our president when he says that we would use the nuclear facility only to produce cheap electric power to be used in our agricultural and industrial projects?

Surely the United States is giving us this aid for some ulterior purpose. Why else does it only pretend to be our friend but refuse to give us technological know-how for making progress? It neither gives us a nuclear facility or lets France fulfill the pact she made with us. If this friendship or enmity? It is time for us to prove our national independence, self respect and dignity.

12476/13104
CSO: 4656/71

PNP LEADER SAYS U.S. HINDERING DEMOCRACY

GF061403 Karachi DAWN in English 5 May 86 p 4

[Text] Lahore, 4 May: Syed Qaswar Hussain Gradezi Secretary-General Pakistan National Party has said the MRD cannot be expected to bring about a revolution because it is an alliance of parties with different ideologies.

Addressing a PNP [Pakistan National Party] reception hosted for various labor organizations in connection with May Day centenary celebrations here today he said any political party which did not raise anti-American slogans at its meetings and processions could not be pro-worker.

He expressed his concern that a political party -- which he did not name but left no doubt which it was -- did not raise a single slogan against the United States at its rallies.

Mr Gardezi said power and the national resources had been appropriated by the feudals.

Lhaore PNP Chief Hanif Goraya said his party would give an unconditional right of strike a minimum wage of Rs. [rupees] 2000 a month to workers who would be represented on the management of their factories.

He said the biggest hindrance in the way of democracy in Pakistan was American imperialism which controlled the economy through financial assistance.

Labor leader Mirza Ibrahim said the political parties had been creating labor lords but not workers. Constitutions had been framed in this country in the name of people, democracy and socialism but the workers had to face bullets every time.

Leaders of the Democratic Labor Federation, All-Pakistan Trade Union Federation, Pakistan Trade Union Federation, the Railway Workers Union, Millat Tractors and Packages Workers Union also addressed.

/12929
CSO: 4600/308

COMMENTARY VIEWS ANOTHER U.S. STRIKE AGAINST LIBYA

GF2815l5 Karachi DAWN in English 24 Apr 86 p 7

[Editorial: "Another U.S. Strike?"]

[Text] Some important personalities in the U.S. and the U.K. have been ominously hinting at another military attack on Libya. This means that all the protests voiced by an overwhelming majority of nations over last week's U.S. raids have been ignored. This betrays a calculated indifference to international law and opinion and a preference for the argument of force for settling issues of dispute. It is not clear at this stage what the excuse for the second military strike would be. When the U.S. fleet provoked clashes off the Libyan coast last month Washington claimed that it was asserting the right of freedom of navigation through international waters and airspace "on behalf of all nations of the world." But few nations wanted the U.S. to act as an enforcer on their behalf. Last week's military strike was stated to be an answer to the earlier guerilla attack on a discotheque in West Berlin and on a TWA airliner en route to Athens. But Bonn made it clear that it had not hard evidence linking Libya to the West Berlin incident and Athens rejected the allegation of any Libyan involvement in the TWA episode. Hence, it would appear that the pretext was just a cover for the hostile action against Tripoli. This impression is reinforced by the recent U.S. record with regard to rules of evidence. The U.S. authoritatively claimed that the Sandinists were "desecrating and firebombing" Managua's only synagogue. But Rabbi Balfour Brickner of New York testified later that the building was abandoned in 1978, a year before the Sandinists came to power. The U.S. also charged that the Nicaraguan Ministers were drug peddlers. This was denied by U.S.A.'s Drug Enforcement Administration.

All this speaks of scant respect of truth and objectivity when it comes to achieving certain political goals. Such as approach can hardly establish the credence of what the U.S. says were its reason for the recent air strikes against Libya and of what it cites next as a justification for a replay of it against that country. However, even a threat of another strike cannot fail to cause tension and exert a destabilizing effect in the Middle East. What the U.S. and the U.K., as its supporter, are trying to establish is a new doctrine - the right of each powerful country to decide what constitutes its vital interests, where these have been violated or threatened and by whom and what action to take against the presumed violator. The recent air strike may, thus, be taken as a signal to other muslim or Arab countries who are

opposed to U.S. policies in the region or are too closely identified with the Palestinian cause. So, the next strike may not necessarily be against Libya.

In this context, the decisions taken at the meeting of the EEC Foreign Ministers on Monday reflect a jaundiced view of the whole affair. While the EEC has decreed certain non-military measures against Libya, probably under U.S. pressure, it has miserably failed to tackle the root cause of Middle East "terrorism", the Western euphemism for Arab restiveness and militancy. They deliberately evaded the basic fact that most of the troubles in the Middle East are traceable to Israel's primary terrorism. This terrorism has created the Palestinian diaspora and its resultant consequences. The European countries can even now start a dialogue with the Arabs to get to the bottom of the trouble, if they are really serious about tackling the problem. Much the same thing can be said of the extraordinary triple veto (by the U.S., the U.K. and France) that killed the security council resolution which would have condemned the U.S. raids against Libya. The raids killed at least 37 civilians and injured about a hundred, besides inflicting extensive damage to many civilian buildings and installations. All the same, the revolution was backed by nine members of the council, the strength required for passing the resolution. The plain fact is that but for the protective shield of the triple veto, the raids against Libya stand condemned by the international community. The non-aligned countries, therefore, moved in the right direction by proposing and working for a special session of the UN assembly which is not veto-bound. That will provide an opportunity for formally registering the world fraternity's abhorrence of aggression by a superpower against a small Third World country.

/12929
CSO: 4600/308

INCREASED OFFSHORE OIL EXPLORATION RECOMMENDED

GP041514 Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 86 p 7

[Editorial: "Offshore Drilling"]

[Text] Falling oil prices in the world have appreciably cut down our import bill but heavy dependence on imports will continue till our own oil production increases. Some modest oil reserves have been struck in recent years but we are still a far way off from achieving self-sufficiency.

In the tricky oil business unforseeable factors can send the price soaring again just as they have brought it down to the prevailing low level. Oil was once very cheap but then the price rose to 28 to 30 dollars per barrel, costing us about one-and-a-half billion dollars per annum. The present relief in oil prices therefore, cannot be taken to be a lasting boon. Prudence demands that we use the present interlude to redouble our efforts to achieve self-sufficiency. The recent oil finds on land have produced optimism about the overall prospects.

The possibility of finding oil offshore, specially after the drilling of the first offshore well, "Pakistan-I," located 129 km south of Karachi, seems equally promising. Though the well has not been found "economical" as the gas is not in commercial quantity, it has yielded hydrocarbons with a flow of 3.7 mmcft gas. It enhances the chances of striking a good oil and gas reserve i this promising geo-belt. After all, India has discovered rich offshore oil reserves near Bombay which lies almost in the same belt. In view of the encouraging results obtained from this drilling venture, the decision to carry out further geophysical survey of the area is sound and logical, for it will prepare the ground for charting out other offshore sites in the vicinity for exploration and drilling. The survey is being conducted by the OGDC [Oil and Gas Drilling Corporation] with technical and financial assistance from Canada which has provided sophisticate vessels for the purpose.

Similarly, the search for oil on land should also continue with renewed vigour. Advantage must be taken off the low prices of oil in the world market by diverting some of the savings on the oil import bill towards prospecting within the country. There is a shortfall of as much as 70 percent in the oil production in the country. This leaves us with no option but to intensify the search for oil and gas. The government, however, will

have to devise a new strategy and formula to attract foreign investments for this purpose. It will be necessary, however, to ensure that the nature and extent of external involvement in this field are fully in accord with fundamental national interests.

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BRIEFS

EXPORTS TO GULF STATES--Kuwait, 3 May--The Export Promotion Bureau has launched a vigorous drive to boost Pakistan's exports to Kuwait and other gulf states in the wake of decline of its exports to the region due to the sharp fall in oil prices. Pakistani exports to the gulf states, particularly to Qatar and Abu Dhabi, have declined sharply in 1984-85 as compared to 1983-84, according to official statistics. The exports to Qatar fell from Rs [Rupees] 213 million to RS 89 million to Abu Dhabi from Rs 532 million to Rs 176 million during this period. Pakistan exports to Bahrain fell from Rs 191 million to Rs 181 million, to Dubai from Rs 2266 million to Rs 1702 million, and to Saudi Arabia from Rs 703 million to Rs 392 million. Oman was the only state in the region to which Pakistan exports showed an increase from Rs 348 million to Rs 550 million during this period. [Excerpts] [Karachi DAWN English 4 May 86 Economic and Business Review, p 4 GF]

FRENCH ARMY CHIEF ARRIVES--The chief of the army staff of the French army, General (Schimidt Morghaise), arrive in Karachi early this morning on an 80 day good-will visit to Pakistan. During his stay, the French chief of the army staff will also visit Rawalpindi, Wah, Kakul, Naushera, Peshawar, Landi Kotal, and Lahore. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 2 May 86 BK]

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